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Olga

FOLK LIFE MUSEUMS AND THEIR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE PUBLIC

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Olga Fakatseli

University College London

Institute of Archaeology

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

For my parents and Diana

Abstract

Attempts to establish interdisciplinary links between folkloric heritage and European museums have been made since the nineteenth century. However, what is almost entirely lacking nowadays within the relationship between folklore and museums is both a museum accommodation with modern folkloric theoretical perspectives and a close investigation of museum visitors' and museum curators' perceptions about folklore. With the aid of surveys, interviews and Museum Critical Reviews this thesis examines the subject of folklore as perceived by visitors and curators and as interpreted in contemporary European museums. The findings emerging from the systematic analysis of the data confirm the initial hypothesis of a prejudiced image of folklore in the public mind as something that belongs mainly to a rural material past with little relevance to contemporary urban environments. This perception is reinforced by the fact that modern folk museums tend to present folklore as a contrast between past, rural cultures and modern, urban cultures as opposed to modern academic folklore theory, which has expanded its interests to encompass metropolitan and industrialised environments, an area which is usually partly dealt with in museums as social history. This thesis addresses the challenging issue of the folk life museum's present and its possible relevance to modern contemporary societies and develops guidelines for what a 21st century folk museum should aspire to in its mission, collecting and interpretive functions. If museums keep pace with modern folkloric theory and take into consideration visitors' perceptions they may well help to facilitate a more adequate understanding and communication of folklore. They could then widen and enrich our understanding of contemporary and diverse societies and revolutionize our experience and interpretation of culture, heritage and cultural values.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction and aims of the thesis

Recent years have witnessed a period of reflection for museums and similar cultural institutions while their role has changed and continues to change significantly. In contrast to the modernist museums of earlier years, which, as cultural products of the Enlightenment, were authoritative and reverential places confined to the preservation and conservation of collections and scholarships, the post modern museums of today have undergone radical changes in order to enable them to play demanding roles in the new era. In essence, museums have become more dialogic and heterogeneous, subject to diverse demands, and welcoming to diverse audiences (Black 2005, 46).

In terms of communication principles, whilst the modernist museums employed a transmission model of communication which, based upon behaviouristic approaches, saw "communication as a linear process of information-transfer from an authoritative source to an uninformed receiver" (Hooper-Greenhill 2004, 560) and ignored any social and cultural aspects brought to the communicative process by audiences, the post modern, post colonial museums see communication as an integral part of the culture, and address communication as both interpersonal and social (Falk and Dierking 1992; Falk and Dierking 2000), and constructed through interpretations of past and present experience (Hein 1995; Hein 1998).

Translated into museum practice this latter approach to communication employs interpretive display models while at the same time leaving space for the personal interpretations of the audience. Instead of relying solely on curatorial voices as valid and powerful, the new museum approaches accommodate unheard or previously silent voices, write history from differing perspectives and valorise multiple cultural identities.

Cultural variations are acknowledged and accommodated instead of being ignored in order to ensure the power of a dominant cultural group. The new challenge for museum communicators is to bring multiple perspectives into view (Karp and Lavine 1991, 7), and to test their interpretations against those of respected communities of learners - also called interpretive communities (Fish 1980) or communities of practices (Rogoff 1990; Lave 1991; Matusov and Rogoff 1995) - so that interpretation efforts are mutual. The acceptance of differentiated audiences makes the research of their values and agendas through evaluation techniques indispensable so that powerful relationships are forged, new voices are heard and new narratives are created.

Museums are nowadays engaged in cross-disciplinary enquiries addressing more abstract and often controversial issues of political, social, and ethical nature (Macdonald and Fyfe 1996; Carbonell 2004, 1). Exhibitions on the protection of collective (Tchen 1992) or "burdensome memory" (Linenthal 1995, 260), such as the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC; the "Crossroads: the End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Onset of Cold War" exhibition in the National Air and Space Museum, Washington DC (Zolberg 1996); and the prospective 9/11 museum/memorial; on colonialism (Riegel 1996) or on gender and sexuality (Porter 1996) could not have been imagined before the 1990s. This is when Peter Vergo in the introduction of his influential book the "New Museology" was arguing that museology itself should reflect on its role as a "theoretical and humanistic discipline" and therefore reexamine the role of museums within society (Vergo 1989a, 3).

In the above context folklore, which has been part of the museum scene for over a century, may open up challenging opportunities for museums and their visitors to contemplate aspects of cultural life which have languished into the 21st century as unworthy of attention.

In their earlier, nineteenth century, history, folk life museums were inextricably linked to the philosophical paradigms of the newly forged folklore discipline and, hence, their main concern was to safeguard and preserve for future generations rural material evidence which was under a threat of disappearance in a period of social upheaval. In subsequent years folklore scholarship refined its aims to encompass contemporary urban cultures in its enquiries. In the meantime, however, folk life museums continued to proliferate in their familiar rural format so that in museums the close bond between theory and practice had almost vanished by the latter half of the 20th century. European

folklore curators concentrated particularly on recording the physical material agricultural past and so folk life museums failed to acknowledge the cultural changes which occurred as much as they might, so affirming a misinterpreted notion of folklore to the public. Such an attitude may have played a significant role in the development of popular ideological notions of folklore as something which has little or no relevance to contemporary societies. Moreover, the embracement of the term "social history museum" for those institutions that depict urban and contemporary societies, a usual practice in Britain, has further contributed to theoretical and public confusion and misunderstanding.

On the other hand, museum visitor attitudes towards folklore, which might have revealed additional biases and misconceptions about it, have not been taken into consideration as no visitor investigation about relevant issues has so far been conducted either in Europe or in the USA where, however, concerns about the parochial relationship between folklore and museums had been hesitantly expressed (Hall and Seemann 1987).

This thesis represents a step in the direction of filling the above gaps through an exploration of the field of folklore/folk life as far as museum displays are concerned. The aim is to study existing paths of communication between folk life museums and their visitors as well as to suggest possible innovative communicative methods. In particular, the study sought to explore visitors' and museum staff's perceptions of folklore and social history as well as to identify conceptions of the past that both groups have with regards to folk life exhibitions.

For reasons of feasibility this research was confined in the geographical area of Europe. Subsequently, no mention is made to African, Asian, Indian or other non-Western expressions of folklore, either in the literature review or throughout the study, though folklore is a global and universal phenomenon and is found in abundance and in fascinating variety in all cultures and civilisations.

1.2 Research questions and objectives

The first concern of this study was the formulation of clear and focused research questions. My general interest in the relationship between folklore and social history had been initiated by my experience in curating a folk life collection of mainly 19th century clothes and embroideries in the National Historical Museum in Athens, Greece, and was narrowed to the selection of the following interrelated research questions:

i. Can folklore/folk life actually be represented in a museum?

ii. Is social history the modern version of folk life?

iii. What do "ordinary" people, potential visitors to museums, think of the terms folklore/folk life and social history?

iv. Is there any communication gap between visitors and curators in the case of folk life exhibitions and, if there is one, how could it be bridged? What information do both sides think the folk life museum should or could convey?

v. Why does the representation of everyday life in Greek and many other European museums stop at the beginning of the 20th century?

The above research questions were considered adequate in the sense that they were concrete, researchable and had the potential of making a contribution to this particular area of museology as insufficient research about European folk life museums had been done previously. In order to answer the above questions and to achieve the project aims the following objectives (in order of processing) were considered necessary:

i. The definition of folklore/folk life in the wider international context as well as the possible relationship between folklore and social history in the museum context;

ii. The exploration of current museological practice in contemporary folk life and social history museums;

iii. The exploration of visitors' and museum staff's perceptions of folk life/folklore and social history;

iv. The identification of conceptions of the past that both museum visitors and museum staff have in the case of traditional folk life exhibitions;

v. The suggestion of differing communication avenues between visitors and curators which would provide guidelines about what a 21st century folk museum should aspire to in its collecting and interpretive functions.

Figure 1.1 *Conceptual framework of the work*

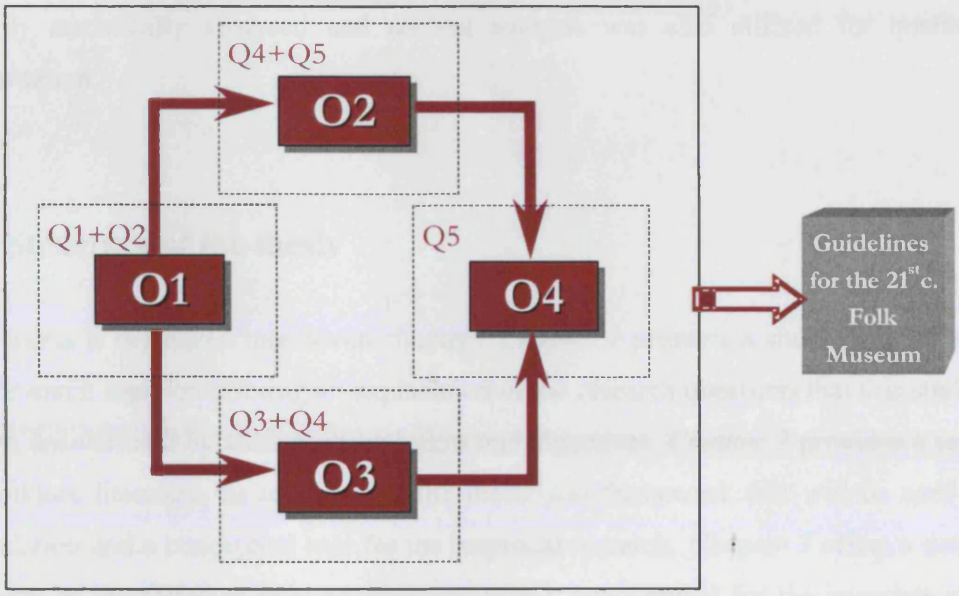


Figure 1.1 above presents the conceptual framework of the project showing clearly the correlations between objectives and research questions as well as the relations among objectives themselves. In particular, the first objective which was about the definition of folk life and social history addressed the first and second research questions which were about whether folklore/folk life could actually be represented in a museum and whether social history was the modern version of folk life. The second objective was about the exploration of folklore in contemporary folk life and social history museums and addressed the fourth and fifth research questions. The third objective which investigated visitors' and curators' perceptions of folk life/folklore and social history addressed the third and fourth questions. The outcomes of the achievement of the two previous objectives provided further insights for the implementation of the fourth objective which was about the identification of conceptions of the past that both museum visitors and museum staff had in the case of folk life exhibitions so offering possible replies to

the fifth research question of the project about the restriction of the representation of daily life to the beginning of the twentieth century. Overall, the general outcome of the study fulfilled the fifth objective which was the outlining of general guidelines of what a 21st century folk museum should aspire to in its collecting and interpretive functions.

Finally, as far as the methodology followed in order to implement the objectives of this thesis, a multi-strategy attitude that engaged both deductive and inductive approaches was adopted. Beyond the literature review, the main techniques consisted of Museum Critical Reviews, questionnaire surveys and semi structured interviews. Data were mainly statistically analysed and content analysis was also utilized for qualitative information.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. *Chapter 1* presents a short introduction to the research topic by offering an explanation of the research questions that this study set out to answer, and by stating general aims and objectives. *Chapter 2* provides a review of folklore literature, so establishing the theoretical framework that will be used as a foundation and a conceptual tool for the empirical research. *Chapter 3* offers a detailed account of the followed methodology and how it was applied for the purposes of the research. *Chapter 4* is charged with identifying how folklore is collected, exhibited and managed in European museums through twenty-four Museum Critical Review case studies. *Chapters 5* and *6* give a detailed presentation of questionnaire survey analysis and findings about museum visitors' and museum curators' views about folklore and social history along with possible interpretations. Lastly, *Chapter 7,* after putting visitor and curator surveys' findings in a comparative perspective, provides concise replies to the research questions of the study and offers recommendations for the "folk life" museum of the 21st century. It also stresses the museological contribution of the research to the knowledge of folklore in museums and its impact on future work.

I hope that the results of my analyses and interpretations will offer new opportunities for European folk life museums. In calling for a general review of current practices and applications away from the long-held stereotypes of "rural" and "past" I suggest a prospect through the prism of up to date theoretical and methodological trends that see

folklore as a dynamic evolving subject, an active agent contributing to the construction of everyday culture.

2 Folklore's Relevance to Contemporary Society

2.1 Introduction

The title of this chapter evokes a two-fold speculation. It refers to the meaning of the term folklore and the like term folk life and their application, if there is one, in today's world. This chapter will lay the theoretical framework that will provide the foundation for the exploration of folklore in museums which will be presented and analysed in the next chapters.

The term folklore, which comprises both the relevant discipline and the materials it studies, remains at present one of the most extremely difficult fields to define. Indeed as Dan Ben Amos has so brightly put it "definitions of folklore are as many and varied as the versions of a well-known tale" (Ben-Amos 1975, 358).

The word folklore itself could be argued to be inadequate in the sense that it raises questions and disputes especially as far as the first part of the word is concerned. It is not surprising that the most frequently asked question about folklore is who the folks in the focus of interest are and there is certainly no doubt that the subsequent answers vary according to the prevalent trends in scholarship and personal bias of researchers. The fact that any attempt to arrive at a workable definition is apt to run into terminological problems and organisational variations has partly to do with the historical development of the concept as well as the theoretical differences among the scholars who study it and the slightly different perspectives of folklore in different countries.

This chapter is organised as follows. It starts by discussing the linguistic variations of the term folklore among various countries, and then takes a glance at the historical development of the concept. Next it continues by exploring the most prevalent trends in

the area, reviewing the different approaches to the definition of folklore, and drawing a general picture of the field by outlining the features and functions of folklore, the folk groups and genres, the academic interest in the area as well as the most used theoretical approaches. Lastly, the chapter concludes by summarising the challenges that folklore discipline has to meet in order to offer something of value to the general study of humanity.

2.2 Linguistic matters

The study of folklore grew almost simultaneously in a number of countries and the multiplicity of designations that were used to express the validity and unity of the new subject significantly contributed to the proliferation of definitions.

The word *folklore*, a Saxon compound of the words folk and lore, was first coined in 1846 by the English antiquarian William John Thoms (1803-1885). In a letter he sent on 22 August 1846 to the literary journal "Athenaum", he suggested the use of the new term f*olklore* as a substitute to the notion "popular antiquities" which was in use until then to describe all that material and non-material popular culture that was at risk of disappearance (Thoms 1846). The new term, closely related to a pastoral and anti industrial setting, was used to define a new field of learning and knowledge but was also to raise confusion and controversy.

The relevant European terms appeared to be slight variations of the English word *folklore*, while there are also small differences among them. The Germanic term *volkskunde* which was coined in 1803 (Jones 1993), put particular emphasis to the lifestyle of the rural people (Toelken 1979) and has been recently substituted by the more popular term of *European Ethnology* (Bendix 1998, 240). The Swedish term *folkliv*, which was in use since 1847 (Jones 1993) and emphasised the relationship between both oral and tangible forms of folklore (Seal 1989), was substituted in 1909 by the name *folklivsforsning* (Jones 1993), to be altered recently again to *Etnologia Europaea* (Löfgren 1996). In France *Ethnologie* took over the term *folklore* which after the Second World War became discredited as a discipline (Weber 2000). The Danish use the term *fokminder* which means people's memories and the Greeks the word *laography*. The word *laography*, a compound of the words *laos* (folk) and *grafo* (write-describe), was invented in 1884 by the philologist and writer Nikolaos Politis (1852-

1921), and has been also used from time to time in the foreign literature. The same term but with a totally different meaning was in use in Alexandrian times. At that time the term *laography* meant the tax per capita which Egyptian men of age between 14 and 70 years old had to pay. Despite the initial different meaning of the word it was thought to be the closest to the English term folklore, and used as such to define the new field of study (Hmellos 1985).

In response to the pervasive demand for a pan-European term (Fenton 1993) the term *ethnology* has been adopted, as has been indicated above, by several European countries. This together with the fact that the word *cultural anthropology* which is also referred to as *social anthtopology*, *ethnology* or *ethnography* has also been widely used to denote almost the same area of interest (Bascom 1953, 283), has made the range of folklore definitions even more problematic. Moreover, the term *folk life*, which has been said to focus more on tangible folk products rather than verbal expressive forms, has also found positive spread. The supporters of *folk life* maintain that this term encompasses all the forms of traditional culture while at the same time the followers of *folklore* sustain the same for their term (Dorson 1972a).

Lately the notion of *intangible heritage* came to the fore thanks to the "Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage" adopted unanimously on 17th October 2003 by the General Conference of UNESCO in its thirty second session. The new term which encompasses "all forms of traditional and popular or folk culture" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a, 54) was selected to substitute for terms which had created international confusion and misunderstandings in the museum world, such as "folklore", "traditional culture", "folk life", "popular culture", "oral heritage", "way of life" and many others (Kurin 2004). According to the UNESCO definition:

> "The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.
>
> The intangible cultural heritage is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- performing arts;
- social practices, rituals and festive events;
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO 2003, 2).

For the purpose of this research I will use the terms *folklore* and *folk life* as virtually synonyms. Also I will use the term *intangible heritage* as defined in its manifestation in the second part of the UNESCO definition, that is, to denote immaterial culture in contrast to material culture or tangible heritage, and not in an identical manner to the term *folklore.*

2.3 An historical overview: antiquity to the nineteenth century

Every field of modern scholarship before being recognised as an independent discipline with particular aims and methodology covers many years of a pre-scientific stage.

If we perceive folklore as a discipline that, roughly speaking, studies, collects and interprets all the activities of the ordinary man and woman, then the pre-scientific stage of the discipline could be traced in the works of ancient Greek literature where one reads the first folkloric comments.

In particular, information about the customs and manners of foreign people is found in the Homeric epic, whilst the work of Herodotus is abundant in elements about the way of life of people in distant civilisations. At a later stage, Aristotle first supported the opinion that the life and beliefs of ordinary people, as they resulted immediately from accumulated experience, were as important as the works of the elite culture. Aristotle was also the first to realise the customary and group character of the common beliefs of people, and to give the first scientific definition of the term *proverb.* A wealth of proverbs, popular beliefs, superstitions, and information about all kinds of human activities are presented in attic comedy and especially in the work of Aristophanes (Megas 1951), while detailed information about the everyday life of people, with special references to their rituals, customs, and beliefs, can also be located in works of several other Greek authors, the stoic, the neo-platonic, and the neo-Pythagorean philosophers. Finally during the Hellenistic and the Romaic period, there are several authors who

describe the life of exotic people and collect folklore material, such as Strabo, Pausanias, and Plutarch to name but a few.

Indeed a concept of folklore and an interest in expressive traditions and everyday life of ordinary people existed long before folklore was recognised as a proper discipline in the mid nineteenth century. Actually it has been debated that folklore started to grow when individuals first realised that expressive behaviours, which were remarkably similar among people, had been created long before they were conceived as familiar collective traditions (Georges and Jones 1995).

In the strict historical framework however, folklore as a new field of study emerged in mid nineteenth century, an era when biological evolutionism was at its utmost. Darwinian pronouncements about progressive biological development implied an intellectual and cultural ongoing evolution and sparked off alternative directions for the study of humanity. It was reasoned that if life had developed from simple to complex forms then the same could be argued for civilisation. Subsequently it was thought that the study of the contemporary common folk who had resisted the influences of advanced culture would help to understand the contemporary complex society (Toelken 1979). Equally, the study of all the elements that constituted survivals of ancient cultural systems and persisted through time, old songs and music, strange customs, curious superstitions and objects of everyday life, which were currently at risk of disappearance, would reveal the early stages of human cultural existence and provide new insights into a people's roots, heritage and continuity. It seemed wise that the above features could be sought for among the pure peasant population of the countryside and not amongst the industrialised and sophisticated urban population from whom had emerged those who had invented and studied folklore. It could also be that the urge to study folklore was intensified by the transference of rural population to the cities in the mid nineteenth century in many European countries. In fact, there are scholars such as Tamás Hofer who have argued that even the focus of folklore in traditional rural culture in the nineteenth century was due to the increased awareness of identity of the peasant population in contrast to the emerging urban milieu (Hofer 1980).

At that same time of eminent European imperialism, we can also trace the beginnings of anthropology. The study and systematic documentation of primitive people demonstrated similarities in multiple cultural forms amongst diverse and geographically distant people, and a new concept of unlinear cultural evolution, which suggested that

cultures of all people pass through the same developmental stages, though at differing rates, was developed (Georges and Jones 1995). The savage and the peasant were conceived in the same way (Jamin 1985, 53) and folklore and anthropology arose concurrently in response to Charles Darwin's theory of evolution; in an early stage, the difference between the two was that anthropologists focused on studying contemporary people other than their own, while folklorists researched the rural culture of their own country as a stage of their own history (Green 1997).

Several scholars such as James Frazer (1854-1941), Max Müller (1823-1900) and Andrew Lang (1844-1912) developed their own theories about the origins of diverse cultural forms and brought a special influence to bear upon folklore methodology in the years to come (Seal 1989). These early perspectives influenced Edward Tylor (1832-1917) who formulated his own theory of survivals (Tylor 1865; 1871). According to that theory folklore represents the survival of animistic ways of thinking; that is to say that the irrational tales and beliefs of the European peasantry were considered to be remnants of primitive cultures and could be used to exemplify the history of the humankind. Following this trend the London based folklorists, named by Richard Dorson (Dorson 1968a) *the Great Team*, who composed the core of the British Folklore Society, founded in 1878 (Fenton 1993), started eagerly to look for anything "in the fossilised form of a rite, a custom or a myth that has survived from the distant past" (Dorson 1978, 14).

At that time, as one can easily infer from the folklore definitions formulated by the members of the Great Team, folklore was something past, backward, peasant and immaterial which could be found in its purest form in savages. To gain a more elaborate idea of how folklore was perceived then it is worth quoting here those initial definitions of the field. Therefore for Andrew Lang:

> "[Folklore] collects and compares the similar but immaterial relics of all races, the surviving superstitions and stories, the ideas which are in our time but not of it... The student of folklore is thus led to examine the usages, myths and ideas of savages, which are still retained, in rude shape, by the European peasantry" (Lang 1893, 11);

for Edwin Sidney Hartland:

> "It is now well established that the most civilised races have all fought their way slowly upwards from a condition of savagery. Now, savages can neither read nor write; yet they manage to collect and store up a considerable amount of knowledge of a certain kind... The knowledge, organisation, and

> rules thus gathered and formulated are preserved in the memory, and communicated by word of mouth and by actions of various kinds. To this mode of preservation and communication as well as to the things thus preserved and communicated, the name of Tradition is given; and Folklore is the science of Tradition" (Hartland 1899, 2);

and for Alfred Nut:

> "The folk whose lore we collect and study is essentially the portion of mankind which has ever remained in closest contact with Mother Earth, the class upon whose shoulders has been laid the task of making the soil yield food, and of doing the drudgery, the dirty work of humanity...In telling you what folklore is I have emphasised ...certain features that differentiate it sharply from our modern civilisation. That is, as the word indicates, a product of town-life, folklore is a product of the countryside" (Dorson 1968b, 260).

The above theoretical speculations had raised the challenge of preserving the old traditions and rites. During the nineteenth century some European antiquarians and philologists had started to systematically collect, collate and describe *popular antiquities*, in the form of songs, customs, ceremonies and superstitions, which were the main area of concern for the common folks as they were not the product of the cultured and well educated individuals. Collectors such as Robert Hunt in Cornwall, Charlotte Burne in Shropshire, Ella Leather in Herefordshire, John Francis Campbell in the Highlands, Jeremiah Curtin in Ireland and many others sought folklore material all over Britain and throughout the whole empire (Dorson 1978).

The appearance of folklore studies in the nineteenth century coincided also with an evident burst of romantic nationalism in a number of European countries. This nationalism, an obvious product of the social, political and territorial changes of the era, had reinforced the notions of national or regional identities and had given a special importance to everything relating to past material or non material culture. As a result, folklore traditions were explicitly emphasised in the quest of national identities, national language, national literature, in a word national history.

The theory of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) about the importance of past experience for a nation to survive as such and to contribute to the progress of humanity, as well as the assumption that the national soul is best reflected in folk poetry exerted a significant influence on several countries. In 1812 Germany, Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859), after hearing Herder's call for volunteers to collect early German songs, collected and published a considerable

volume of fairy tales which were, as was the whole of their work, closely associated with the idea of the reconstruction of a Germanic past. Herder's influence was also significant in the Slavic countries where several collections of folk songs saw the light of publicity from 1822 and so on leading to a pan-Slavic literary nationalism (Wilson 1989).

In Finland, in 1814, the Finnish scholars A. J. Sjögren (1794-1855) and A. Poppius (1793-1866), influenced also by Herder, swore to collect all the traditions of their country while in 1835-36 Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884) published *Kalevala*, a collection of old poems of the area of East Karelia which was to become the national epic of Finnish people. *Kalevala* was the starting point for the claim of a Finnish language, culture, literature and mythology. It was also a framework for the inspiration of other theoretical formulations, such as the establishment of the well known Finish historical-geographical method by Kaarle Krohn (1863-1933), according to which scholars should primarily seek for the place and date of origin of the folk material (Dorson 1976). In Sweden, folklorists such as Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818-1890) and Carl Willhelm von Sydow (1878-1952) also emphasised the antiquity and backwardness of folklore while similar concerns had been made in Denmark by folklorists such as Svend Grundtvig (1824-1883), Evald Tang Kristensen (1843-1929) and Axel Olrik (1864-1917) (Thompson 1961).

The assumption that folklore belonged to the past and peasantry was also prevalent in more isolated areas like Russia and Japan. In Russia Alexander Nikolayevich Afanasyev (1826-1871) was a follower of Max Müller's mythological school and attempted to explain comparatively the symbolic meaning of folklore material; in 1890 Vsevolod Fyodorovich Miller established the "historical school", which in an attempt to explain the origins of *byliny*, the oral poetry which had been collected by several Russians collectors such as P.N. Rybnikov, A.F. Hilferding, Boris and Yury Sokolov, put the emphasis on more recent periods of Russian history (Dorson 1976). In Japan Kunio Yanagita, the founder of Japanese folklore studies, was interested in a historical reconstruction of the pre-Buddhist folk religion while Japanese folklorists such as Toshihiro Hirayama, Nobuhiro Matsumoto and Hiroji Naoe attempted to reconstitute the ancient deities and worship through collections of legends and fairy tales (Dorson 1963).

In the United States of America the ideas of past times and physical remoteness were also emphasised. Early folklorists such as Francis James Child (1825-1896) and Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) travelled to mountainous isolated areas seeking for ballads and songs still in use by the isolated and poor villagers who were still unsullied by the industrial, commercial culture. Other field collectors like Isabel Gordon Carter, Richard Chase, and Leonard Roberts gathered traditional tales, while scholars such as William F. Allen, Charles P. Ware, Lucy M. Garrison and Joel Chandler Harris expanded the field collecting, apart from white mountain folk traditions, songs, tales and dances of the black population. Besides, the American Indians' legends, tales and myths were carefully recorded by the well known anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his followers (Dorson 1978).

In cases where national issues were of concern folklore has played a very important role. Hence, in countries such as Norway and Greece folklore had been crucially used in striving for national independence. In Norway, collectors such as Peter Christen Asbjörnsen (1812-1885) and Jörgen Moe (1813-1882) attempted to recover the ancient Norwegian mythology in order to fight against Danish dominance (Dorson 1976), whilst in Greece, folklore carried from the very beginning a political implication and was utilised in many ways in order to prove the cultural continuity of the newly born Greek nation which had become free from the Turkish rule in 1821. Greek folklorists had overtly a twofold aim in using and promoting folklore material: fighting against the views of the Austrian scholar Jacob Philip Falmerayer (1790-1861) who had rejected the idea that contemporary Greeks were descendants of ancient Greeks, and attracting European political support for the brand new state. These aims could only be achieved by emphasising unambiguous traces of the Greek classical past in the current traditions of former peasants who constituted at the time the largest part of the Greek population (Herzfeld 2002).

Throughout its history folklore was closely associated with national concerns and many times it had been virulently exploited for political reasons. There is no clearer evidence of such exploitation than Nazi Germany. The National Socialist Government of Hitler obviously distorted the theory of the nineteenth century sociologist and travel writer Wilhelm Riehl about *volksunde*, namely the national folk community. During the 1930s a huge folklore literature was published and the term *volk* obtained a strong political meaning as the Nation. Riehl's recommendations about focusing on German things had been strongly followed, and the rejuvenation of pure peasant folk consciousness was

considered to be not only beneficial but crucial in order to foster national pride, exclude alien features from Germanic culture and discourage migration from the country to the city (Kamenetsky 1972; Dorson 1972b; Kamenetsky 1977).

Another example of folklore exploitation in terms of nationalism, idealism and politics could be identified in the Soviet Union where folklore was socialistically interpreted as the expression of the realities and aspirations of the working class (Oinas 1961). In most of the cases this had been achieved through distortion of original folklore material as well as through the creation of a whole new body of industrial-labour lore (Dorson 1976).

Similarly in the 1950s during the period of the Cultural Revolution Chinese intellectuals were made to go to live in the countryside with the peasants under a policy of purified nationalism (Chang 1992).

Finally, another issue of concern since folklore's early developmental stages, which was closely related to nationalism but was not always openly expressed, was the idea of regionalism. Folklore has been traditionally collected and studied in a regional form and the idea of a region as a cultural, geographical, economic, socio-political and historical entity which provides a seedbed for folk culture has been articulated by many European folklore theoreticians (Dorson 1952; Paredes 1958; Hirsch 1987). Barbara Allen in her extensive review essay about regional studies and folklore identifies four essential elements to a region: "Place" as a geographical entity , "people" who live in this entity, "history" that forms the relationship between people and place, and economic, social and historical "distinctiveness" from nearby regions and nation as a whole (Allen 1990, 2). These characteristics constitute the basis for the construction of a regional sense of self, of that instinctive feeling that you are part of an area, a feeling that lies not only in physical boundaries but mainly in heart and mind (Pierson 1955; Dorson 1964; Shortridge 1980). Folklore, even after its re-conceptualisation as a dynamic process amongst individuals who share, amongst other things, the place they live in, provides the insider's view of a regional experience and is considered "a sensitive tool for understanding the region as a shaping force in residents' life" (Toelken 1990, 14).

2.4 Current trends – twentieth century

As inferred from the above historical review, folklore in its first steps had been perceived as a contrast between traditional, rural, and modern, urban, cultures, a thought that was to be revised lately by and large. Indeed in recent years folklore has been depicted from another point of view, as a contemporary issue "keyed to the here and now, to urban centres, to the industrial revolution, to the issues and philosophers of the day" (Dorson 1976, 45).

Historically rural populations who accumulated in the large metropolises brought with them all their cultural lore and made thus clear that folk life is readily applied both to country and urban masses of people. Modern development is no more considered to suppress traditional cultures and at the same time rural traditional societies no longer correspond to the major part of popular culture (Canclini 1995, 153-157). In the years of technology and industrialisation urban city dwellers carry their own insecurities and subconscious fears which are reflected in their own lore either in the form of well established traditions derived from rural areas and yet kept alive in urban settings or in a newly created lore which results from city people's own ethnic, socioeconomic, occupational or professional situation.

In fact cities' lore had attracted the interest of other antiquarians as early as the sixteenth century and John Stow was the first person who was formally interested in London's folklore. In 1825 Robert Chambers with a two volume work paid contribution to traditions of Edinbourgh (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983, 175) while the Victorian journalist Henry Mayhew, who in his exhausting four volume classic reportage *London labour and the London poor* gives an accurate image of the street folks with their prejudices and common beliefs (Mayhew 1968), has been honourably mentioned as the first urban folklorist (McKelvie 1963). The interest in urban folklore continued into the twentieth century and a serious scholarly concern with contemporary industrial folk culture had become the focus of attention in European countries since 1920s (Dégh 1970, 218).

The trend of exploring the folklore of a city was also eminent in the United States. During the late nineteenth century, collectors such as William Wells Newell, Steward Colin and William Beauchamp explored and collected folklore in several American cities while after the Second World War new collections of urban folklore made their

appearance (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983, 185). In fact, following the suggestions of the Chicago sociologist R. D. Mackenzie who stated that "the widest cultural differences...are not between the country and the city but rather between different residential areas within the city itself" (Botkin 1946, 254) and influenced by the work of sociologists, social historians, and urban anthropologists many folklorists focused on city folklore shifting the emphasis from seeking survivals of old folkways to folkways of particular folk groups, immigrant and ethnic minority groups included (Dorson 1981; Miska and Posen 1983; Green 2002; Groce 2004).

A number of scholars both in Europe and in USA have worked under the above setting making clear with their contributions that folklore is present both in primitive and sophisticated societies and enjoys as such a distinct universal character. In 1938 Phyllis H. Williams first explored the folklore of a close community such as the Italian immigrants in the United States. A social worker herself, through her work *South Italian folkways in Europe and America,* she was aiming to provide help to her colleagues who dealt with Italian immigrants (Williams 1969). However, the well presented wealth of customs and beliefs of Sicilian families in New York and New Haven accredited her work as the first analysis of modern folklore. Several years later other researchers such as Linda Dégh, Carla Bianco and Venetia Newal investigated the lore of ethnic minorities in Britain and America (Dégh 1969; Bianco . 1978; Newall 1978). Immigrants' personal histories and experiences have clearly pointed out the dynamism of folklore traditions in immigrant communities where people eagerly attempt to adapt in the new environment exerting in their turn cultural influences on the host countries.

Working in the above modern framework Roger D. Abrahams first explored the behaviour of the black population of the northern America states as expressed in their everyday verbal interaction either in the form of explosive obscenities or brutal jokes. These oral folk expressions, published in a two volume work entitled *Deep down in the jungle: Negro narrative folklore from the streets of Philadelphia* reflected in a very alive way the ghetto street life, made clear the discrepancies with the respective lore of black people in the south and were considered again as a modern exploration of folklore (Abrahams 1971).

At the same time Donald McKelvie investigated the degrees and limits of neighbourliness in Bradford UK, an industrial urban environment. His aim was not to collect the oral lore but rather to find out how people lived in their neighbourhood, in

other words to explore their social behaviour. Urban myths, common beliefs and proverbs reshaped according to local ways, are quoted in abundance in his work (McKelvie 1963; 1965).

Folk culture did not die with the appearance of industrialisation but rather changed and modified to effortlessly follow urbanised and technological trends (Bausinger 1990). In recent times Herman Bausinger investigated the relation between folk culture and the tourist industry; the small scale arts and crafts producers; the urban folk song revival; the popular theatre; the mass literature; and the holiday customs, as well as the folk traditions' commercialisation, known under the neologism *folklorismus*. He also focused on the role of tradition which he attempted to redefine not as something static that is transmitted from generation to generation but as something that continually changes, is reconstructed and in some cases even invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Bausinger 1990).

The need for reconsidering the nature of tradition in the context of modern society is at the core of a long-running discussion. Most scholars have in many variations consented to the assumption that traditions are continually updated and thus should be regarded not as isolated and fossilised ideas but as dynamic processes by which objects or behaviours are understood or performed by a close group of people (Dorson 1976; Toelken 1979; Handler and Linnekin 1989; Glassie 1995). Seen from this point of view the study of folk culture should go beyond the simple analysis of artefacts but instead seek for the worldview and special codes that are reflected in that culture (Toelken 1979).

Furthermore, Barre Toelken has argued that folklore is local, communal and informal not in the sense that it is limited to time and space and therefore does not exist among urban or educated people, but in the sense that it is transmitted as experience shared amongst familial people and not as part of some formal training. In order to support his above argument he explains how formal opera singing is not considered folklore whilst opera singers may well possess and transmit significant folk life material that express opera singers' particular attitudes and beliefs – their private folklore. Moreover, he stresses the fact that the group cooperation which is one of the main characteristics in rural families, and responsible for the performance of folk events, is often especially encouraged by members of urban groups in contrast to the notion of individualism and competition that is believed to characterise urban societies (Toelken 1979).

During recent years many folklorists from different parts of the world have expressed a strong interest in the mode of life, the culture and the folklore of people who live in urban industrialised environments. In the course of time, urban societies created and still create their own body of folklore. New traditions are drawn from novel technological devices (Narváez 1986) and technology has been utilised to incorporate and expand folk beliefs rather than conflict with them.

The viewing of folklore from a modern urban perspective has also actively considered its relations with the mass media of popular culture. Printed sources, television, radio and films are bursting with folk stuff and there is a wealth of possibilities for drawing interesting analogies between folk and contemporary expressive formulations suggesting new lines of enquiry about folk and popular culture. Urban folklorists are no longer seeking for survivals but they appraise folklore as a living activity of a given community. All of them research the way of life of the ordinary man and woman, whilst many concentrate on the poor and neglected broadening their inquiries to include topics closely related to oral or social history. Indeed, research attitudes such as McKelvie's (McKelvie 1963; 1965), have strong social bearings and explicitly indicate that folklore as a discipline overlaps with other social disciplines and that the boundaries between are not always clear.

This assumption becomes more obvious if one compares those trends with some fundamental definitions of social history. To quote but a few it has been said that social history is history "from the bottom up", that it is the history of the working class, the black slaves, the poor; history of everyday life (family and the home, labour and the workplace, popular thought and leisure activities); or history of groups and the power relationships between them (social identity, gender, race, religion, social class, ethnicity, and sexual and political orientation) (Williams 1993). Similarly, in the prominent work of G. M. Trevelyan "English Social History", we read that:

> "the scope of social history may be defined as the daily life of the inhabitants of the land in past ages: this includes the human as well the economic relation of different classes to one another, the character of family and household life, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each age as it arose out of these general conditions of life, and took ever changing forms in religion, literature and music, architecture, learning and thought" (Trevelyan 1944, xi).

In fact, the appearance and development of the new disciplines of anthropology, folklore and sociology in late 19th and 20th century contributed new ideas to the

contemporary interpretation of history moving the emphasis from political history which was the main focus of contemporary historians to social and economic concerns. The Annales School which emerged in France in 1920, and which challenged conventional historical practices and embraced methodologies from other disciplines, the Marxist analysis that explored the lives of working people and popular classes and the interest of other historians in investigating the life of under-presented groups such as women and minorities, were influential on the development of social history studies and to broadening historiography research.

Taking into account the afore-mentioned issues, as well as the fact that folk culture and modern society are no more seen as mutually exclusive, we can easily realise there is an overlap between the disciplines of modern folklore and social history. The environments described are the main areas for both folklore interaction and social history background, while folklore forms and material for investigation could be argued to be of particular interest to social historians. Whether it is useful to abort any terminological distinction between the two disciplines, if not in the general academic background but in the more limited museum context which is the main concern of this study, or we have to use the terms as both contrary and complementary remains to be investigated and comparatively explored.

2.5 Towards a modern day definition of folklore

In the above mentioned framework of modern implications folklore definitions vary from brief ones: [folklore is] "the hidden submerged culture lying behind the shadow of official civilisation", stated by the pre-eminent professor of folklore Richard Dorson (Dorson 1968a), to more analytical ones like that developed for the American Folk Life Preservation Act, 1976:

> "American folk life means the traditional expressive culture shared within the various groups in the United States: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, regional; expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skill, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual pageantry, handicraft; these expressions are mainly learned orally, by imitation, or in performance, and are generally maintained without benefit of formal instruction or institutional direction".

The Act's definition has been criticised on two points by Graham Seal (Seal 1989). He argues that the above definition on the one hand presents folklore as rather static and not as a continuing tradition with various forms but the same process, and on the other hand that it concentrates on folklore only as performance and oral tradition.

Seal believes that the folklore process is characterised by five main aspects: informality, group orientation, tradition, universality and variation of form and content across time and space. His insight is summarised by the following formulation:

> "Folklore is a continuing informal process generating/perpetuating and communicating culturally significant information outside, but in connection with, the official institutions of society (government, mass media, education, and corporation). It is a universal human phenomenon manifest in certain identifiable and interacting forms of group expression (song, joke, tale, etc.) and practice (custom, artefacts, dance, gesture, etc.) that typically have a multiple existence in time and space" (Seal 1989, 11).

He suggests that folklore is the hidden culture that relates past to the present, that it is the process through which the members of a group come to terms with the group itself. He also states that folklore has vital social functions and he stresses the importance of taking into consideration the cultural context in which folklore takes place in order to understand the full significance of its process (Seal 1989).

Graham Seal was not the first to suggest that folklore is a communication process rather than a collection of bygone superstitions, customs, songs and tales. Dan Ben Amos in his influential article "Toward a definition of folklore in context" gives a detailed analysis in order to shed light upon what folklore is about. He suggests that although folklore is an organic phenomenon in the sense that it is an integral part of the culture and any separation of its forms from their social and cultural environment significantly affects the final product, folklore forms are at the same time super-organic, in other words mobile, manipulative and transcultural, which after their creation may exist outside their initial environment (Ben-Amos 1975).

Ben Amos claims that most folklore definitions are based on this duality and he also perceives three different dimensions in folklore definitions: folklore as a body of knowledge; a mode of thought; or a kind of art. According to the same definitions social context, time depth and medium of transmission are the qualities that classify a cultural product as folkloric distinguishing it from other forms of culture. Therefore folklore cannot exist outside its social context, it requires a time depth in order to be conceived

as folklore and finally it is mainly transmitted through oral ways. Ben Amos insists that most folklore definitions are the outcome of the sets of relations between the above folklore dimensions and its diverse qualities.

By making a thorough examination of the above sets he concludes that folklore is not a collection of things but rather a communicative process (Ben-Amos 1975, 363). Thus, for example, folklore is not the body of folk songs of a country but the social interaction that takes place among the presentation of songs, the performance of singers and the audience. More specifically folklore communication only takes place when both performers and audience belong to the same reference group this being an ethnic affiliation, the same age group, the same occupational group, etc.

The author summarises that "folklore is artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1975, 365) and emphasises the intentional absence from the above definition of the two key qualities tradition and oral transmission. He believes that tradition is a technical device that does not necessarily qualify folklore in the sense that in some cases, such as in children's folklore, folkloric forms might be considered exceptionally novel while in some other cases performers of folklore might be totally ignorant of the age of the folkloric product. Consequently he urges for a new concept of folklore which is broader and more dynamic in core, claiming that "some traditions are folklore, but not all folklore is traditional" (Ben-Amos 1975, 366). He also thinks that oral transmission should not be considered as a qualifying factor of folklore since the oral circulation of folkloric forms has been affected by print and broadcast. The search for uncontaminated forms makes folklorists antiquarians while the notion of folklore as process provides a way out of this dilemma. Communication process is folklore when performed in its regular habitat under traditional conditions, while when transmitted through mass media it looses its folklore character, as there is a change in its communicative framework. At the same time the attempt to reproduce somebody else's tradition as it really is, depicts a picture that is rather fossilised instead of giving an image of a dynamic living culture (Toelken 1979).

Other studies, however, also conducted during the 1970s, have pointed out the close relationship between folklore and mass media, as well as the similarities in transitive and mass communicative processes, subsequently contradicting the above reasoning. The dissemination of traditional expressive forms, songs or stories, through radio and television has proved to be of significant importance when aiming at instructing or

entertaining current generations unaware of the lore of their ancestors (Dorson 1978; Rihtman-Augustin 1978).

In several cases neglected old traditions may revive in new mass produced forms with apparent modern influences. Recent studies have focused on spotting traditional folkloric motifs and tale types in popular films, from fairytales which have been presented and rediscovered in Disney cartoon movies (Thompson 1977, 461) to palpable similarities between movies about the Vietnam war (for example "Apocalypse Now" and "Platoon") and hero narratives (Fiedler 1990; Schechter and Semeiks 1991) and folk tales which, reinterpreted for the adult audience, constitute the base for horror movies (Alexander 1979; Schechter 1988), science fiction movies (Schechter 1988), pornographic movies (Hoffmann 1965), and television commercials (Dégh and Vazsonyi 1979). On the one hand this rejuvenation or dissemination of folklore through mass media has been extensively criticised as leading to the loss of traditional performance styles and to a consumerist homogenisation of folklore (Thomas 1980; Russo 1992; Tucker 1992; Dégh 1994); on the other hand however, it has been argued that folklore is, this way, expanding since it is no longer limited to narrow circles and regions. As Mikel Koven has pointed out in his critical presentation of the existing literature on the relationship between folkloristics and popular film and televisition, folklore is reflected and fruitfully explored in many different forms in the mass media, for example in contemporary beliefs in popular texts, in rituals involved in popular cultural consumption, in narratives about technology and in cinema or television which can act as modern storytellers (Koven 2003). Such proliferation of folklore in the mass media might easily lead "toward acceptance of a mass culture species of folklore" (Dorson 1978, 42). To further support this argument Lawrence Levine has demonstrated that traditional regional culture is not eroded by transmission through mass media but rather blended and strengthened as it reaches more sections of the population (Levine 1992, 1376). In this sense modern media of communication can be seen as major factors in preserving, transmitting and reflecting folk tradition rather than destroying it. Interchange and communication still take place in mass media transmission of folklore forms though in a rather indirect way. When for example a story is transmitted through television it also targets that specific reference group in which folklore was initially created. For example viewing a programme about traditional Cretan dances might be transmission of folklore for the Cretans but not for the Athenians. It is for the members of that group that it has a special meaning while for the rest of people who don't belong

to that group but happen to be possible receivers of folklore the folkloric form is limited to its generic quality. Nonetheless, there is a critical esoteric/exoteric counterpoint in the life and lore of a definable group of people (Jansen 1965) or, as Barre Toelken has put it, there are two kinds of audiences in folklore performance: the insiders, who know the tradition, communicate with each other through it and may exert influence in the way folklore is performed, and the outsiders who either are completely strangers or know the tradition but are not skilled in it (Toelken 1979). Moving back to Ben Amos' definition we could also argue that it applies only to verbal forms of folklore and not to tangible forms of material culture such as commodities of everyday life.

Georges and Jones have also attempted to give a definition for the word folklore. For them:

> "the word folklore denotes expressive forms, processes and behaviours that 1) we customarily learn, teach, and utilise or display during face to face interactions, and 2) that we judge to be traditional a) because they are based on known precedents of models, and b) because they serve as evidence of continuities and consistencies through time and space in human knowledge, thought, belief and feeling" (Georges and Jones 1995).

The authors judge that folklore is again a communicative process declaring that it is something that takes place during face to face interaction. In their analysis however, they talk about the pervasiveness of folklore in our everyday life, using numerous examples from modern advertisements, television and cinema movies, cartoons and other modern media of mass communication. Thus, it could be said that in a modern city base, city folklore depends on the literacy of the society; that is in a literate society folklore could be also conveyed by images and words.

Although, as inferred from the above definition, face to face interaction is considered to be a necessary element for the identification of a material as folklore, it seems that the authors agree that an item still keeps its folklore character even if removed from the interactive context and incorporated into another environment. In this sense the "face to face interaction" dimension could not be considered as a defining quality of the primary definition of folklore. Moreover, the above definition offers a rather conventional insight of tradition. By evaluating as qualifying agents of tradition "known precedents of models" and "evidence of continuities and consistencies through time and space" the authors lend tradition a static, inert character, that does not leave space for the formulation of brand new folklore as often happens in children's and occupational

environments (Ben-Amos 1975), in the e-lore such as the chain letters and the jokes spread on the Internet, as for example the visual jokes disseminated in the web after the disastrous 9/11 (Hathaway 2005, 34), which can be easily adapted and altered before sent to the next recipient, or in the jokes transmitted through text messaging, which reflect newer traditions. Finally the use of the word "teach" in the above definition suggests a formal character which is outside of the framework of folk life.

Richard Bauman (Paredes and Bauman 1972; Bauman 1992) has also emphasised the use of folklore in communicative reaction. His interest however laid mainly on oral folklore. He also claimed that folklore should be viewed contextually and ethnographically and not itemised and his main concern was to discover the individual, social, and cultural factors that give oral folklore shape and meaning in the conduct of social life.

In the Larousse Dictionary of World Folklore in what the author calls "a general and least contentious definition" we read that:

> "folklore is what is handed down through the generations in a culture by oral transmission – the tales, skills, rituals, music, and so on that are repeated among members of that society" (Jones 1995, vii).

Indeed the above definition is rather limited and overemphasises the oral character of folklore which is just one of several folklore forms. Moreover the oral transmission of folklore might have been very significant in the past but not that much in the recent years of literate and mass educated societies.

After all, many traditional meanings of folklore can be found in several standard dictionaries while a number of folklore definitions could be retrieved through a web-based research. Although the majority of those definitions are defective and closely related to the perception that folklore has a past and rural character, the research proves to be very fruitful on two points. First because it makes clear that everyone can be a folklorist in that s/he can describe folklore on the basis of her/his personal interests and, secondly, it reveals a number of international societies that deal more seriously with folklore, such as *The American Folklore Society, the New York Folklore Society, the British Columbia Folklore Society*, and many more.

Definitely, all the above approaches to define folk life have a bearing upon the way we should now understand folklore. Indeed it could be said that folklore is all of these

things and much more. All definitions, although they offer good insights in what folklore is about, only scratch the surface of folklore, which as Barre Toelken so successfully has put it, is rather "a word very much like culture that represents a tremendous spectrum of human expression that can be studied in a number of ways and for a number of reasons." (Toelken 1979, 28).

2.6 Folklore features

If we wanted to specify the main characteristics of folklore material we would almost certainly end up with tradition and variation. It has been already discussed that tradition is no more conceived as a static and old environment but as a dynamic process that is continually updated. It could encompass pre-existing cultural materials influenced by newer traditions that have been passed on to the performer of folklore instead of being invented as a whole by him or her. The term repetition has been also used in discussing folklore features with similar connotations (Jones 1995).

Another interesting perspective about the role of tradition in contemporary society has been given by Handler and Linnekin. They have debated that tradition in its commonsense meaning might indicate the inherited body of customs and beliefs. However, as a scientific concept it should be seen in a more unconventional way, a symbolic construction of the past by people of the present:

> "Tradition is a model of the past and is inseparable from the interpretation of tradition in the present...traditional action may refer to the past, but to "be about" or to refer to is a symbolic rather than natural relationship, and as such it is characterised by discontinuity as well as by continuity" (Handler and Linnekin 1989, 41).

Such a view of tradition surpasses the dichotomy between tradition and modernity and offers new insights to the interpretation of folk objects both material and non material.

Diversity and variation are common and identifiable characteristics of folklore material. The same folk tale or legend might be traced with slight or considerable variations between different places or in different periods of time. Moreover, in many cases the same example of folklore might exist in more than one form (Georges and Jones 1995). Variations in folklore confirm folklore universality while at the same time they are the living testimony of folklore performers' inventiveness through time and space. This

inventiveness is usually particularly valued as it expresses the folklore dynamism that is also thought to be one of the principal characteristics of folklore (Toelken 1979).

The cultural and social environment in which folklore is generated and circulated is also important in the examination of folk items (Seal 1989). This becomes predominantly apparent in cases where folklore has been consciously removed from its live context. For example, the massive reproduction of folk items for commercial and tourist reasons that we experience today lacks variation and is characterised by duplication, instead of dynamism that is the driving force that transforms folklore to a living entity of human activities (Toelken 1979).

2.7 The functions of folklore

Folklore functions vitally in various ways in the everyday life of groups and individuals who make up any society. Folklore is instinctive. It is the basis of learning about life through close personal associations (Toelken 1979). People know and perform folklore for several reasons and such a process is so subconscious that we rarely take notice of it.

Folklore's main function could be argued to be educational. Though transmitted in an informal way and definitely not through the official channels of communication, folklore is educational in the sense that through its various forms (legends, tales or urban myths, various skills, beliefs or even behavioural patterns) it instructs people. Through group experience and observation folklore structures the world view and transmits the past to the present (Toelken 1979). This past might be inaccurate compared to its official view, however it is highly personal and serves to justify and adapt present beliefs and attitudes of a folk group to the present (Seal 1989).

Folklore's second fundamental function is the maintenance of group identity. A folk group whether it is a large one such as a national group or a smaller one such as a family group or a youth sub-cultural group identifies and understands itself through its common folkloric expressive ways which reinforce the sense of "us" against the sense of "them".

Finally, its third function is the preservation of social equilibrium. The conflicts, fears, tensions, frustrations and dissatisfaction that a group employing folk life communication, feels against social institutions are liberally expressed through folkloric

language especially through reprographic messages, jokes and narratives. By operating informally and outside the formal and legitimate norms folklore reduces the tensions that subvert social institutions helping in a way to the maintenance of the general social stability (Seal 1989).

2.8 Folklore groups and folklore genres

Folklore operates in various groups which can be defined by age, gender, ethnicity, avocation, region, occupation, religion, or any other basis of association. "Any group of people, who share informal communal contacts that become the basis for expressive, culture based communications" can be considered as a folk group (Toelken 1979, 51). A folk group has its own dynamics that educate and inform its members who spend most of their time in these groups sharing commonalities as well as differences. Folk life is perpetuated within the context of those groups and serves to identify and symbolise individuals and their communities. Each of us throughout our lives belongs to many groups, the most usual being the family group, the age group and the occupational groups. Folklore is an integral part of the above groups and can take various forms; Graham Seal (Seal 1989) has made an implicit categorisation of folklore forms some of which will be presented below.

Family folklore is the most traditional of all in the sense that each generation preserves and transmits it to the following one. Lullabies, nursery rhymes, fairy tales, special forms of speech (affectionate nick names and diminutives), festive and customary behaviour in family celebrations, reminiscences, jokes, songs, games, special food ways and recipes transmitted informally from generation to generation, folk medicine, arts and crafts which include functional or decorative techniques such as knitting, embroidery, doll and toy making, gardening and building techniques, etc., stories, narratives, even family photographs of customary celebration or significant family contact, all compose a rich folkloric context.

Another category where folklore is found in abundance is the folklore of childhood and youth. Children always create their own environment in which adults have limited or no access at all. This special environment has a special meaning to its members and it is full of more or less traditional folkloric forms. Apart from the games, the songs and rhymes, the riddles and jokes, and all that material that had been handed down by

previous generations and may be indeed extremely old and therefore traditional in their form and way of transmission, a fundamental role played in the construction of child folklore is the inventive incorporation into their daily life of the current TV and/or cartoon heroes (Gridder 1981; Stone 1981). Such an activity results in a rich and vital childhood folklore which is characterised by two factors that operate simultaneously, tradition and continuous adaptation.

The folklore of adolescence is another form of youth folklore. It is closely associated with games, urban legends, and folk speech and it is vital for youth subgroups such as skinheads and punks. It composes a lively and expressive system of various forms that serves on the one hand to make the youth group easily recognisable from others of the same age group and on the other to identify them against all other groups such as parents, teachers and adults in general.

Last but not least an immersive network of folklore material evolves and circulates amongst various occupational groups. This is found in many forms such as reprographic lore, certain customs, graffiti and pastimes. Jargon is also one of the main forms of occupational lore as well as material common to the wider community such as jokes, urban legends, gestures etc. It could be also said that a lot of the time occupational folklore helps to give work places their special institutional character.

In brief folklore can be traced in verbal forms; behavioural patterns either in the form of common observance of beliefs and folk customs or in the form of other customs related to weddings and funerals, as well as in folk drama and dance, celebrations and festivals, demonstrations and inaugurations, games and sports; material forms, including folk art and crafts, local architecture, folk costume, and food ways; and non verbal forms such as gestures, reprographic lore, graffiti, chain letters, instrumental music for social or ceremonial occasions, cinema and television.

Folklore forms have been identified by Georges and Jones as artefacts (Georges and Jones 1995). Artefacts are said to be:

> "the only class of historical events that occurred in the past but survive into the present. They can be re-experienced; they are authentic, primary historical material available for firsthand study. Artefacts are historical evidence." (Prown 1993, 2).

Following this association the characterisation *artefacts* for folklore forms proves to be very successful. First because folklore forms have a history which developed in the past

and continued until the present, and second because when isolated from the interactional context of human experience they can be categorised into various genres (Georges and Jones 1995).

Extensive research has been made on the various folklore forms and genres which constitute distinct categories in folklore literature. Their richness and diversity is huge and their detailed presentation would be impossible here and far from the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, material forms and especially folk art and crafts along with folk costumes are the folklore genres which have been traditionally presented and interpreted in contemporary folk museums. Therefore, these are very briefly explored below along with short explanations of other most familiar genres which constitute part of the intangible folkloric heritage.

2.8.1 Folk art and crafts

Folk art is the art produced and performed in and for a folk group. Folk artist's ideas are inspired by the tastes and aesthetic of his/her close community and are neither the results of a professional training nor do they coincide with other contemporaneous models that express the elite culture of the dominant society (Glassie 1972). Moreover, folk art does not change following prevalent fashions and it is often closely related to everyday life in the sense that it usually has a predominant functional character. This close relation of folk art with the aesthetic expressions and perceptions of everyday life is its distinguishing point from fine art (Toelken 1979). However in many cases folk art, like primitive art, could be considered as constructed art in the sense that it had not been conceived as art at the moment of its creation.

Moving on to the idea of folk crafts, it has been said that when an artefact's main aim is to please it is called art and when its main aim is practical is called craft (Glassie 1972). The main element of folk craft is tradition. Some of the crafts are very old and many of them can be located in different countries, a reality that could be justified by tradition's nature to spread both historically, for example, by the preservation of any agricultural ways of life and geographically.

For a craft to be considered as folk it is necessary to implement some criteria the most important of which is its general use by all layers of society and not its limitation to the

upper class. In the pre-industrial era the only way for someone to obtain things s/he could not produce was from the local craftsmen who lived in their own locality. The effects of industrial revolution and mass production caused the gradual disappearance of folk craftsmen and the substitution of folk products with other cheaper factory made ones. However some of the traditional crafts still exist today for a number of reasons, either because hand-made objects enjoy a definite glamour or because they have been elevated to the fine art level, or even because they are practiced as hobbies such as embroidery, crocheting, etc. (Roberts 1972).

2.8.2 Folk costume

Folk costumes are among the most common elements of folk material culture and the ones most represented in folk museums. The term folk costume has been narrowly defined by European scholars as peasant costume however, in a broader definition, it has been argued that it is what people wear in relation to their community as a whole (Yoder 1972).

Petr Bogatyrev in his prominent study about the function of folk costume concludes that the latter is both an object and a sign that serves multiple functions, aesthetic, ritual, practical, and ideological (Bogatyrev 1971). It is not unintentional that in ritual contexts people wear special dresses; this rather happens in order to emphasise to the community the significance of the cultural moment in their individual life (Wilson 1997).

Don Yoder, who also sees folk costume in a symbolic way, believes that dress is an expression of group identity and he claims that through time many groups have manipulated and transformed their costume practices in order to emphasise their identity inside and outside their close community (students, hippies, beatniks, yuppies, etc.) (Yoder 1972). This redefinement of appearance and human body into a site of struggle through the manipulation of dress has been termed by Elisabeth Wilson *oppositional dress* (Wilson 1985). *Oppositional dress* may take several forms. In cases of political movements for economic, political or cultural independence *oppositional dress* in the form of retention or revival of traditional dress has been used as a symbol to denote a group's unity and resistance to control exerted by outsiders. In other cases the appropriation of normative clothing forms in an oppositional way and the reassembling of them in terms of the group's aesthetic are very common. The feminist group who

appropriated men's jackets and ties in its struggle for equality, as well as contemporary youth sub-cultures such as the punks who have reconstructed the clothing of working class with symbols of misbehaviour and aggression, are just two among several examples (Wilson 1997).

Nowadays there is a kind of interaction between folk and fashionable ideas in clothing practices. On the one hand mainstream fashion influences, to a large extent, local costumes and on the other hand fashion designers appropriate elements from the folk or street fashion. This ends in a mingling of styles and in a complication of what is considered folk and what fashionable (Wilson 1997).

A part of this influence however is not a new phenomenon. Don Yoder had already stressed the influence exerted by fashion on the conservative rural population (Yoder 1972). He claims that it is the upper class that determines the clothing habits of the lower classes since fashion circulates first to the upper levels of the society and later to the lower ones. A palpable example of the above can be traced in what was named in Greece "costume of Queen Amalia". Queen Amalia (1818-1875), the first queen of Greece, established for her ladies in waiting a costume which later on spread all over Greece and became with slight variations the national costume of Greece. This costume was nothing else but a conglomeration of elements of the European fashion of the era and elements from regional Greek costumes. The rural areas are always affected by the fashion that circulates from the cities. Besides, the majority of the regional costumes which are considered rural today were centred in cities that at older times used to be capitals of the regions, in other words, they were not rural when they were originally in use. (Yoder 1972).

2.8.3 Intangible folkloric forms

The exploration of the identity and personality of a folk group in a museum setting would be impossible without the illumination of material folkloric forms by other forms of intangible folkloric heritage. The following definitions are offered indicatively and represent a minimum segment of what could be classified as intangible folkloric forms.

First and foremost *folk customs* are defined as the "traditional and expected way of doing things" (Sweterlitsch 1997, 168), and are part of daily activities of a discrete folk

group. For reasons of academic research - in real life the following categories are rather interrelated and interconnected - customary actions are categorised as calendar customs, rites of passages customs, customs associated with significant events and customs that are linked to folk beliefs. *Folk beliefs* in particular, include a great variety of expressions and behaviours in the form of superstitions, popular beliefs, magic, folk medicine, folk religion, and others and are a significant folk form in shedding light on the esoteric human concerns and needs of the people who practice them.

Folk music, *folk dance* and *festivals* are three of the commonest folklore concepts which are also regarded by folklorists as fundamental identifying characteristics of every cultural group and are central in the life of the community. Contemporary definitions of folk music have identified it as the kind of music performed in non-commercial settings for the enjoyment of listeners and performers (Rosenberg 1997). The above definition is in line with the definition of folklore as artistic communication in small groups but raises dilemmas and confusions as folk music is often performed in commercial settings. The definition of folk music as a sort of "aggregation of tunes" (Rosenberg 1997, 342) by other ethnomusicologists has attempted to overcome this problem whilst earlier definitions have identified folk music as the music which was created by a particular community and evolved through the process of oral transmission. Folk songs, on the other hand, have been categorised in two groups: lyric folksongs which aim at expression rather than narration, and narrative ones which are characterised by dramatic development through dialogue and action. As far as folk dance is concerned there have been numerous attempts to define it however, no generally accepted definition exists. This is mainly due to the multiplicity of the meanings of the word folk which has led to the emergence of other terms, such as *national dances*, *primitive dances*, and the more recent terms of *traditional dances*, *popular dances*, *ethnic dances* and *vernacular dances*. All of these stipulations have been vaguely defined and more confusion than elucidation has been created. However, and irrespectively of the choice of terms, folk dances have been always linked to the old, rural, anonymously created and collectively performed (Ronström 1997). Additionally, festivals, secular or religious, rural or urban, acknowledged as periodic festive celebrations with a multiplicity of events, in which all members of community may participate sharing their values and shaping their identity, are considered one of the most complex and symbolic events to prolong tradition (Falassi 1997, 295), and one of the best depictions of a group's worldview.

Finally, *legends* and *folk* or *fairy tales* are two of the most researched genres in folklore scholarship and the ones most sought after when folklore emerged as a discipline in the nineteenth century. They both represent narratives orally transmitted and recreated in each telling and the main difference between the two is that folktales are fictional stories intended to entertain (Goldberg 1997) whereas legends, either old or urban and contemporary, are based on true events and their aim is to convey information (Dégh 1997).

As new traditions emerge daily new folkloric forms appear to further enrich a field which is anyway profuse and diverse.

2.9 Academic interest in folklore

Academic folk life studies are supported by an immense folk life literature. This is partially due to the existing methodology which has been available for several decades. It consists of a combination of documentary research, fieldwork and formal presentation.

The principal sources of periodical literature in English are the *Journal of American Folklore* (USA); the *Journal of Folklore Research* (USA); *Folklife* the Journal of the Society for Folk Life Studies (UK); *Folklore* the Journal of Folklore Society (UK); *Folklife: a Journal of Ethnological Studies* (UK); the *Journal of Popular Culture* (USA); along with many others. There is also a range of monographs and full-length studies, the majority of which concentrate on analysing specific folklore items. There are also several societies and organisations with more or less active roles. I mention indicatively the *American Folklore Society* (USA); the *New York Folklore Society* (USA); *The Society for Folk Life Studies* (UK); *The Folklore Society* (UK); the *British Folk Studies Forum* (UK) as well as the *Social History Curators Group* (the former *Group for Regional Studies in Museums).*

Folk life studies in Britain never managed to gain academic credibility; as a result British universities don't award degrees in folklore or folk life studies. This is partly due to the fact that from its early development, folkloristic studies in Britain were supported by literary and antiquarian societies and not by universities (Dorson 1976). Besides, the target audience for the work of the first folklorists, which we must admit was very well researched and of high scientific standards, was not the academic community but the

general public, and this orientation certainly had a role to play in the lack of British academic development of the discipline. As a result, in the beginning of the twentieth century folklore, in contrast to anthropology which evolved during the same period and gained entry into Oxford, became marginalised. Folk life studies remained outside British universities and the pioneers of British folklore are rarely cited or mentioned in international congresses. Moreover, the anthropologists and the historians have rejected folklore in England (Fenton 1993) and new developments in folklore have come under the name of social history and oral literature.

The close relationship between social history and folk life is also indicated by a glance through the articles of folklore journals. The incidental retrieval of articles with a certain social history interest indeed reinforces the idea of confused boundaries between the two disciplines. For example articles such as "Emigration and the Great Famine: the Ulster experience" (Parkhill 1999) or "Women and sport: student athletes at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, c. 1880-1914" (Lille 1999) in the *Folklife: Journal of Ethnological Studies*, have a strong social history interest. On the other hand, the avant-garde journal *Annales E.S.C.* at the beginning of the twentieth century focused on material issues of rural life (Segalen 2001, 79).

In contrast to the British situation, in the United States as well as in most European countries folklore is a recognised university discipline that enjoyed greater academic growth. The first American folklore department was established in 1963 at Indiana University and since then more than 500 colleges and universities have offered folklore courses that lead to MA and PhD degrees (Georges and Jones 1995). During the same period, the American Folklore Society, which played a stout role in the field from its foundation in 1888 (Fenton 1993), was greatly supported by the new graduate folklore students and played an even more vigorous and enthusiastic role in the evolution of the discipline (Dorson 1972a). However, even in the USA, there has never been an overwhelming academic thriving of folklore as, compared to other scholarly fields such as history or anthropology, few academic folklore departments have been established in colleges and universities (Ben-Amos 1998, 262), while the current status of the academic study of folklore has been reported to be in obvious decline (Dundes 2005, 386).

In the early 1970s, in search of employment opportunities and thanks to the discipline's multidisciplinarity, many folklorists moved outside the academia to a wide range of

organisations from the tourism industry and museums to archives and community institutions, and the new idea of "public" or "applied folklore" emerged. It was this stepping into the public sector and folklore's subsequent popularisation that was to be criticised later, mainly by Richard Dorson (Dorson 1971), as *fakelore* and falsified folklore, so leading to an initial disassociation between pure/academic and applied or public folklore.

2.10 Folklore approaches

The body of folklore material is so vast that a wide range of theories has been engaged over time in order to best tackle it. The theories used to analyse folklore originate in social science theories. In what follows a brief description of the approaches described by Richard Dorson and Barre Toelken is given (Dorson 1972b; Toelken 1979). The list illustrates the complexity in the field which nevertheless does have a specific character as shown by the summary at the end of the chapter.

I have attempted to divide the theories in two classes:

A) Approaches likely to apply in the museum context and B) Other

A) Approaches likely to apply in the museum context

- *The ideological approach*: the ideological manipulation of folklore principally for nationalistic and political purposes. Apparent examples are the utilisation of folklore by Nazi Germany and by Soviet Russia.

- *The ethnological approach*. What really interests the folklorist is not the folk item itself but the dynamics of the group that created that specific folk item.

- *The performance orientation or the oral formulaic approach*: the folklore scholar studies the folk item at the moment of its creation. In other words s/he watches the performer performing to an audience. Richard Dorson uses the term *oral formulaic* and limits the above theory only to oral folklore (Dorson 1972a).

- *The functional approach*: the folklorist studies the continuous operation of folklore through time in a given culture. The functionalist theory can be applied both to oral and material folklore. An applied example of this theory is the work

of Petr Bogatyrev "The Function of Folk Costume in Modern Slovakia" (Bogatyrev 1971).

- *The contextual approach*: the folklorist explores the physical and psychological environments in which folklore takes place.

- *The cross-cultural approach*: a theory that makes bold generalisations covering all cultures of man.

- *The folk-cultural approach*: the aim of this theory was to expand folklore so that it embraced the totality of tangible folk life. Folklorists such as Iowerth Peate in Wales, Don Yoder in the States as well as Henry Glassie and Michael O. Jones worked toward this direction.

- *Mass–cultural approach*: this approach has attempted to bridge the opposition between the mass and folk cultures and to find folk elements in contemporary urban and technological societies. The German folklorist Hermann Bausinger is the pioneer of this approach.

B) Other

- *The Finnish or historic – geographic* method. According to this approach the study of the variations of a folk item can reveal the initial and authentic stages of it. This method mostly applies to tales although some scholars have applied it to ballads and songs, games, proverbs, dramas and customs. The Japanese school of folklore has followed a similar approach for the identification of customs and rituals (Burns 1989).

- *The historical reconstructional approach*: applies mainly to oral folk tales and it is based on utilising traditional recollections in order to reconstruct the recent past.

- *The psychoanalytical approach*: this approach applies to oral folklore and attempts to describe in a psychoanalytical way myths and folk tales.

- *The structural approach* is based on the structural systems of Claude Levi–Strauss and Vladimir Propp respectively, and has been used to analyse forms of oral folklore. According to Levi–Strauss the inherent structure of the myth is

sought by sorting out and rearranging the narrative elements of the story (Lévi-Strauss 1964; 1987; 2001) while Propp's analysis follows the story line, considering significantly the syntax of the tale (Propp 1968).

- *The hemispheric approach*: according to this approach the folklore of each New World country should be analysed "in terms of its ethnic-racial and historical ingredients" (Dorson 1972b).

Thomas Burns sketches a different theoretical diagram, which, however, he asserts is adequate only for scholars whose main area of interest is oral forms. According to this scheme there are two main categories of theoretical approaches: the *diachronic*, which studies expressive material over time and the *synchronic* that studies expressive forms at one point in time and space. These general theoretical approaches have various sub theories which narrow the focus of study according to the specific interests of diverse groups of scholars. Thus we have the evolutionary theory, the devolutionary theory, the diffusion theory, and historical usage that are found under the generous umbrella of the diachronic approach and the functional and the structural theory that are forms of the synchronic approach (Burns 1989). The focus of folklore is narrowed even more by further sub categories.

Thomas Burns also makes another important segregation. He divides folklore scholars in two main groups: the traditional arts folklorists who study the oral expressive culture and the folk life scholars who study traditional or folk culture "where traditional tends to mean some combination of the following traits: rural, pre-industrial, non-mainstream, non-elite, preservationistic (past-oriented, old time), regional, or ethnic" (Burns 1989, 2). Folklore scholarship, however, should be considered as a unity since divisions such as those above make the study of the discipline more complicated. Oral and material forms interplay and intertwine with each other and, as Alexander Fenton has put it: "...together constitute a major part of cultural history of mankind" (Fenton 1993, 11); thus a more holistic approach would be much more welcome.

All the above perspectives have both merits and weaknesses. Some of them are clearly more avant-garde than others, whilst none of them is purely folkloristic but, rather, derive from theoretical developments in other fields, such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics, literary criticism, psychology and history (Burns 1989). The theories mentioned above are inherently more complementary than alternative, and should be

used in conjunction with each other according to the folk item to hand, in order to inform better the study of folklore.

2.11 Conclusion

It has been made clear from the above analysis that there is a considerable difficulty in envisaging the theoretical framework of folklore. The main problem has been the terms themselves. Both terms, folk life and folklore, have accrued many negative associations throughout their existence and many scholars have doubted the terms for different reasons. The principle trouble is the word folk and more particularly who the folks in the focus of interest are. As it has been already discussed, it is now agreed by many specialists that there is no single folk unit and that nowadays most of us usually belong to more than one folk group, each formulated under different kinds of social interaction, individual preferences and likes. At the same time the word lore does not encapsulate all the expressive communicative forms, which constitute the area of study of the modern folklorist. Consequently the term is very limited in its essence. Further misunderstanding has been generated by the term *folkloristics* which, although it entered the scene to denote the discipline around the 1880s, has not been embraced by all folklorists (Dundes 2005, 386) and as a result the word *folklore* seems to have been widely used for both the scholarly field and its subject material (Montenyohl 1996, 234). On the other hand, the term folk life, though it is now used as a synonym of folklore, used to have very close connotations with material culture and to the total rural life tradition so creating confusion as well. The issue of changing the name of the discipline has become so intense that in 1998 it supported the publication of a special issue in the Journal of American Folklore entitled "What's in a name?". Some folklorists such as Regina Bendix and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, expressed the feeling that the term "folklore" should be substituted by other more appropriate terms either because "folklore" is compromised and fails to communicate the diversity of the field (Bendix 1998), or because of the constantly widened gap between the name of the field and what it currently signifies (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998a). Other scholars such as Dan Ben-Amos supported the idea of redefining the term without changing the name (Ben-Amos 1998) while others argued that no change is needed (Oring 1998). As Ilana Harlow in her introductory piece of that same special issue has noted, but also as it has been made

clear throughout the previous sections of this chapter, the problem with folklore is not merely nominal but rather one of disciplinary identity (Harlow 1998, 234).

More precisely, many issues have arisen from folklore multidisciplinarity. Folklore overlaps with aspects of various other disciplines and this does not allow the foundation of a solid theoretical framework on its own merits. Scholars' interests cover a vast area and as yet there has been no theory that combines all those different viewpoints and theoretical pursuits (Burns 1989). Moreover, folklorists are often occupied in other disciplinary fields while folklore has contributed to or has been subsumed by other disciplines (Wilson 1988; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998a). As Barre Toelken has put it:

> "the historian may see in folklore the common person's version of a sequence of grand events already charted; the anthropologist sees the oral expression of social systems, cultural meanings and sacred relationships; the literary scholar looks for genres of oral literature; the psychologist for universal imprints; the art historian for primitive art; the linguist for folk speech and world view, and so on..." (Toelken 1979, 3).

The theories used to explore folklore are borrowed from other social sciences and this lack of a solid grand theory and methodology together with a large number of amateurs who have entered the field (Georges 1991, 3-4) has resulted in folklore's liminality and in a less prominent place among the humanities (Oring 1991, 78, 80; Dundes 2005, 387, 391).

Besides, the fact that folklore forms are characterised by a huge variety and an apparent dissimilarity makes even more difficult the understanding of the concept as a consistent whole. If we add to this the biased perception that folklore has no relevance to modern life then the examination of the field becomes even more problematic. Folklore is a complicated idea and the boundaries of what could be called the folk culture are definitely unclear as is the definition of culture itself. Moreover, there are significant differences among folklorists over a definition of folklore while a succinct definition is almost impossible and one needs to look at its separate parts and its divergent methodologies as a whole in order to offer the best insights to what folklore is about.

Increasingly, the perception that folklore reflects the ethos of its own day and not of an era long past gains more and more ground and today's folklorists are concerned with the study of unofficial culture in modern societies rather than in the obsolete past. As Richard Dorson has put it "legends in the 17th century dealt with witches; in the 20th century they deal with automobiles" (Dorson 1976, 117). Indeed, folklore is a living

entity, a great deal of which relates to our daily lives. It is always updating itself as people change and it can be found in many forms and studied through many ways. It is a broad concept that should be seen from the modern perspective of a viable, evolving part of culture rather than from the stereotypical view of "old, quaint traditions" in order to further contribute to the history and interpretation of human life.

2.12 Summary

This chapter explored the theoretical perspectives applicable to folklore.

It discussed the early notions of folklore which, influenced by the ideas of biological evolution, was conceived as something belonging to the past and peasantry, thus making clear that social class had always been part of the discussion in the field. Then it moved to discuss the importance folklore played in the reinforcement of nationalistic ideas as well as how it had been manipulated for political reasons. Next the chapter continued with the exploration of folklore in modern urban environments asserting that folklore never died but instead changed and modified to follow the new industrialised and technological trends of literate and mass-educated societies. On the whole it emphasised the concept of folklore as a communication process and an experience shared amongst familial people as an alternative to the false consideration of folklore as a simple collection of commodities. Lastly it embraced the idea of folklore as a living spectrum of human expression and activity and revealed the close relations with other disciplines such as social history. Also it presented in brief the various folklore groups and genres, the current academic interest in the field as well as the theories used so far to analyse folklore.

Whether or not museums of today and their visitors have a concrete understanding of folklore, as it has been shaped according to the theoretical framework elaborated above, will be investigated in the following chapters. However, before embarking on such an exploration the methodology employed for this study will be presented.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In the light of the knowledge gained and issues raised in the preceding literature review, this chapter describes the rationale for the research design employed in this study. Drawing on the methodology employed in social sciences, and more particularly in the area of visitor studies, the section starts by presenting a brief history of museum audience research to date. Next a methodological overview is offered to justify the approaches that this study adopted. Briefly, the stages within the research design comprised, beyond the identification of research questions presented in the introduction of this thesis, the selection of appropriate methodology, the identification of target populations of museum visitors, curators and representative European folk life displays, and the choices of instruments for the gathering of data to assess individual knowledge and opinions on the issues examined.

3.2 Historical background

As stated above the methodology of the project has been greatly influenced by the methodology used in the area of visitor studies and the associated social sciences. Consequently the following brief description of the historical background of the field has been considered to be a yardstick against which the present methodology is judged.

In fact, the origins of modern-day visitor studies work are traced back to 1890 when Henry Hugh Higgins, honorary curator of Liverpool Museum and one of the founders of the British Museums Association, reported one of the first recorded visitor surveys in

the *Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* (McManus 1996). In that article he suggested that:

> "a series of observations on the constituents of this irregular procession of visitors, combined with overtures suitable for inducing them to make remarks on the objects exhibited - in a word, the application of the inductive method to the examination of human elements in transit through a museum - might lead to much valuable information" (Higgins 1884).

In 1916 Benjamin I. Gilman was the first curator to use the technique of photography in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts* in order to evaluate human response to exhibit design. His article *Museum Fatigue* where he expressed the view that visitors' fatigue may well be attributed to poorly designed displays and where he also made suggestions for more effective exhibition design, was published in the first issue of the journal *Scientific Monthly* (Gilman 1916).

Up to the time of World War I (1914-1918) museums had been associated with the negative image of gloomy and oppressive places, a public perception that was wittily depicted in the Punch magazine, in 1916, in the cartoon *The Boy who Breathed on the Glass in the British Museum* by Henry Mayo Bateman where a young museum visitor is jailed for years because he dared to breath and write on his condensed breath on the glass of a British museum display case (Bateman 1959).

A general criticism about the lack of visitor consideration had been clearly developed by the First World War. Yet, it is not until the late 1920s and early 1930s that visitor behaviour starts to be studied systematically due, fundamentally, to an attempt to document the educational value of a museum. With this educational focus in mind two psychologists, Edward S. Robinson and Arthur W. Melton applied observational methods to examine visitors' behavioural response to exhibit displays (Robinson 1928; Melton 1933). Though their expectation that they could promote visitor learning following systematic observational studies was not fulfilled, their work represents the beginning of visitor behaviour research and evaluation in museums (Korn 1989).

By the time of World War II several empirical efforts had been accomplished. Areas of education and exhibition design where museums were thought to be more effective in reaching their audiences had been pointed out as a result of evaluation.

C. Hay Murray, director of the *Liverpool Public Museums*, considered a key element in gauging visitors learning the length of time spent in a museum's galleries. He therefore

tried to calculate what he called *value factor*, which was the ratio between the real time spent in the galleries, as observed by the cloakroom clerk, and the standard time that was considered appropriate for someone to wander around the museum (Murray 1932). The more time museum visitors spent in the galleries the more interested they were supposed to be in the various exhibits and the higher the value factor would be. Consequently the value factor was reasoned to be an adequate measurement for the significance the museum played for its visitors.

The value factor was partially justified by the American museologist Louis H. Powell who used it in several renovated museum galleries in order to prove his hypothesis that refurbished galleries engaged visitors' attention more (Powell 1934).

Unobtrusive observations under the name *stopwatch methods* were also employed by Carlos Cummings and his fellow experts in the two world fairs of 1939, in an attempt to identify various topics that were supposed to relate visitors and exhibits such as the entertainment value of exhibits, the use of live demonstrations, and the use of light and labels (Cummings 1940).

Other researchers such as Homer Calver, Mayhew Derryberry, and Ivan H. Mensh (Calver, Derryberry et al. 1943) attempted to measure the educational value of exhibits by calculating visitors' ratings on specific topics; a method however which failed by and large, due to the raters' great variability in response (Loomis 1987).

The two decades following World War II are characterised by the appearance of early visitor surveys. The surveys of David Abbey, psychologist, and Duncam Cameron, museologist, conducted in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the *Royal Ontario Museum* in Canada (Abbey and Cameron 1959, 1961; Cameron and Abbey 1960), as well as those by Arthur Neihoff at the *Milwakee Public Museum* (Niehoff 1953; 1969), helped to establish visitor surveys as a respectable tool, which, however, was not generally applied. At that time visitor surveys in the US were usually commissioned to portray audiences' profiles for specific museums, while in Europe they had a more sociological focus - they attempted for instance to explore visitors perceptions about museums, visiting and non-visiting, etc. (Loomis 1987).

During the 1960s and 1970s the study of visitors became more frequent and the techniques used included the most common methods of social research: questionnaires, interviews, observation techniques, focus groups. At that time museums realised the

urge to change their image from quiet and gloomy places to dynamic and educational institutions. The works of Harris Shettel and Chandler G. Screven reflect this general trend (Shettel 1973; Screven 1974). Their works are also representative of the studies known as behavioural and knowledge gain studies. These studies focused on the exhibit, which is attributed special "attracting" and "holding" powers, and on possible ways that its effectiveness could be increased through alterations to exhibits' design (McManus 1996). As Stephen Bitgood has pointed out, the works of Shettel and Screven

> "represented a dawning of a new age in the study of museum users [...] since they focused on communicating the message by applying instructional technology to informal learning setting" (Bitgood 1989, 1).

Over the next twenty years the situation changed from a didactic emphasis to a communication focus. Throughout the 1980s it is not the exhibit alone that is evaluated but the museum visitors, their perceptions of an exhibit or a museum, in a few words, the way they communicate with exhibits and exhibits with them.

Nowadays this visitor-oriented approach is still prevalent and much evaluation work is done in consultation with visitors, often at the preliminary stage of an exhibition development (McManus 1996).

Indeed there are four types of museum evaluation depended on the different stages of exhibit development: *front end evaluation; formative evaluation; summative evaluation; meta-evaluation.*

Front end evaluation takes place at the early stage of an exhibition's conceptualisation. Its main aim is to understand visitors' perceptions and preconceived notions about the exhibit's topics (Borun 1999; Diamond 1999) and thus it might be suggested that it has its roots in cognitive learning theory and in educational practice (Shettel 1992) or in market produced development. It is a rather speculative and preventive kind of evaluation, yet extremely useful as the information gained can affect later decision making on exhibit design, exhibit text, marketing, etc. (Screven 1990; Korn 1995; Soren 1998; Miles and Clarke 1999). It can use an extensive range of both qualitative and quantitative techniques from structured surveys and desk research to in depth interviews and focus groups. Roger Miles refers to that kind of evaluation as *front-end analysis* (Miles 1988) while Paulette McManus introduces the term *preliminary assessment* indicating that "the activity (described at this stage) is exploratory and qualitative in character rather than analytical" (McManus 1996).

Formative evaluation is usually carried out as an integral part of the design stage. It provides information about visitors' reactions to mocked up exhibits and attempts to point out aspects at a detailed level that do not work or communicate poorly at an early stage of the exhibition development (Miles 1988; Screven 1990). It aims to offer directional guidance and to shape the form of the final exhibit and it uses mainly qualitative methods (Griggs 1999). Its main strength as an evaluation tool lies in that it offers an opportunity for change and improvement while the project is still in operation, consequently it is cost effective. Chandler G. Screven presumes five stages involved in formative evaluation: the preparation of mock-up materials; the observation or testing of visitor reactions to them; the adjustment of mock-ups; the retesting of the adjusted mock-ups and finally the incorporation of the key features of the mock-ups into the final design (Screven 1990).

Summative evaluation is focused on installed exhibits in an exhibition and it intends to provide information on the final impact of the exhibition upon its visitors. Summative evaluation explores the extent to which the objectives of the exhibition have been met, evaluates cost-effectiveness, identifies unplanned aspects of visitor behaviour and understanding, and decides whether an exhibit should be replaced or changed in the future (Bitgood 1988; Screven 1990). Again it employs a variety of techniques for collecting data and it is often done in order to satisfy sponsors' demands about whether the exhibition was worth the money spent.

The term *remedial evaluation* has been introduced by C.G. Screven to describe that kind of evaluation that is "...applicable when efforts are made to improve the short-or long-term behavioural, affective, or teaching effectiveness of exhibits after occupancy" (Screven 1990, 54). Roger Miles however has argued that the term remedial evaluation overlaps with summative evaluation since both evaluations are carried out in the same period, after the completion of the exhibit, and have mainly the same focus. Subsequently he suggests that the term remedial evaluation should be avoided (Miles 1993). In fact remedial evaluation although mentioned in the literature (Bitgood and Shettel 1994) is rarely reported.

Lastly, m*eta evaluation*, is the evaluation of the evaluation process. Meta-evaluation is necessary in order to reflect on whether the evaluation used was adequate and effective. Furthermore, meta-evaluation provides recommendations and thought on any future evaluation projects (Miles 1988; Soren 1998). Meta evaluation is rarely undertaken.

An important point to bear in mind is that the main aim in all stages of museum evaluation is actually the same: to detect communication strengths and weaknesses in an objective way, to give constructive recommendations and solutions in order to improve existing programmes, and to provide feedback for future ones. It is this latter effectiveness of the evaluation process in aiding decision-making that has drawn a fundamental distinction between evaluation and research. Though both use mainly the same techniques and methodologies in collecting data, their approach is different. Thus, evaluation has a pragmatist approach, aiming to make use of the information gained for further improvement, while research is rather more theoretical with an interest in creating new knowledge and generating theories by generalising information across situations, and without necessarily providing immediate usable information (Korn 1989; Miles 1993; McManus 1996).

In placing the present study in the described framework of research and evaluation it could be said that this project might serve both strategies' aims. On the one hand by providing information about museum visitors' experiences, interests and expectations it intends to aid in solving current problems and having a positive impact on folk life or social history displays. On the other hand, however, it aims to open new possibilities to the scholarly community by assessing statistical significance and by gaining explanation and knowledge related to the causality that led to specific visitors' preferences and attitudes, that is, it is theory oriented and research based.

3.3 Theoretical issues

Visitor studies methodology draws on research methods and techniques widely employed in the social sciences. The most common distinction in social research methodology has been the one between quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Although lately there have been constraints expressed about the validity of such a distinction (Layder 1993) the classification between *naturalistic* or *qualitative* research and a *formal*, *quantitative* or *scientific* approach is still considered sound and helpful by the majority of social science researchers. Such a distinction, actually, concerns deeper theoretical, epistemological and ontological issues that underpin research and its interpretation and have an impact on knowledge understanding, rather than just

underlining differences amongst the methods and techniques employed in the two research strategies.

On the face of the above discrimination, a quantitative approach has been described as deductive, positive, empiricist, objective and product-oriented while the qualitative paradigm has been labelled as inductive, relative, interpretive, constructionist, phenomenological, hermeneutic, subjective and process-oriented (Korn 1989; Bryman 2004; Yates 2004). Other philosophical positions such as post positivism, critical realism, post modernism and pragmatism have also provided sound ground for new attitudes to social research (Blaxter, Hughes et al. 2001; May 2001; Robson 2002; Gray 2004). All these approaches run through a wide and complex spectrum of ideas that it is not the scope of this chapter to discuss. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 however, attempt to give a simplified overview of indicative theoretical and methodological perspectives engaged in social science research, as assumed by a variety of authors. These definitions, though coercively restricted to pinning down in a short definition theoretical paradigms and methodologies that have been analysed in multiple essays, might make the research path followed in this study, depicted later in this section in figure 3.1, more comprehensible.

Table 3.1 *Methodological theories engaged in social research*

METHODOLOGIES	
Deductivism	An approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the latter is conducted with reference to hypotheses and ideas inferred from the former (Bryman 2004, 538)
Inductivism	The process of making conclusions from the specific and concrete to the general and abstract (Robson 2002, 548)
Scientific Method	Methodological procedure that consists of developing a theory that is consistent with observations; using the theory to make predictions (hypothesis) and to test those predictions (O'Leary 2004, 10)
Ethnography	A research method in which the researcher immerses himself or herself in a social setting for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions (Bryman 2004, 539)
Ethnomethodology	A research tradition that argues that people continually redefine themselves through their interactions with others (Gray 2004, 398)
Action Research	Research which is orientated towards bringing about change, often involving respondents in the process of investigation. Researchers are actively involved with the situation or the phenomenon being studied (Robson 2002, 545)

Table 3.2 *Philosophical paradigms classified under quantitative and qualitative strategies*

QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH		QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	
Theory	**Definition**	**Theory**	**Definition**
Positivism	It explains human behaviour in terms of cause and effect (May 2001, 10)	Relativism	There are no absolute standards for judging truth (Robson 2002, 551)
Empiricism	Valid knowledge can only be derived from what is observable, measurable or experienced (Gray 2004, 398)	Interpretivism	Subjective meanings used by people in social interaction are a starting point for the objective analysis of society (Weber 1949)
Objectivism	There is or must be some permanent, ahistorical matrix or framework to which we can ultimately appeal in determining the nature of rationality, knowledge, truth, reality, goodness, or rightness (Bernstein 1983, 8)	Constructionism	Meaning does not exist in its own right; rather it is constructed by human beings as they interact and engage in interpretation (O'Leary 2004, 10)
		Post Positivism	A research tradition that rejects the belief that human behaviour can be investigated through the use of the methods of scientific enquiry (Gray 2004, 403)
		Critical Realism	The study of the social world should be concerned with the identification of the structures that generate that world (Bryman 2004, 538)
		Post Modernism	A set of theories that argue that objective truth is unobtainable. All we have is "truth claims" that are partial, partisan and incomplete (Gray 2004, 403)
		Pragmatism	An approach which makes practical consequences the test of truth seeking solutions demanded by the problems presented by a particular situation (Robson 2002, 550)
		Naturalistic paradigm	There are multiple interpretations of reality and the goal of researchers is to work with people to understand how they construct their own reality within a social context (Gray 2004, 401)
		Hermeneutics	Focus on meaning and human beings as meaning-making and meaning-using creatures (Yates 2004, 137)
		Phenomenology	Study of phenomena as they present themselves in direct experience (O'Leary 2004, 122)

Quantitative research emphasises, as the term implies, quantification in the collection and analysis of data, employing surveys, systematic observations, and statistical analysis. The sample of respondents is larger than the one in qualitative research in order to establish statistical validity. All respondents answer the same questions often by choosing from a list of predetermined learning categories. Their responses are then converted into numbers so that the data can be analysed statistically (Korn 1989).

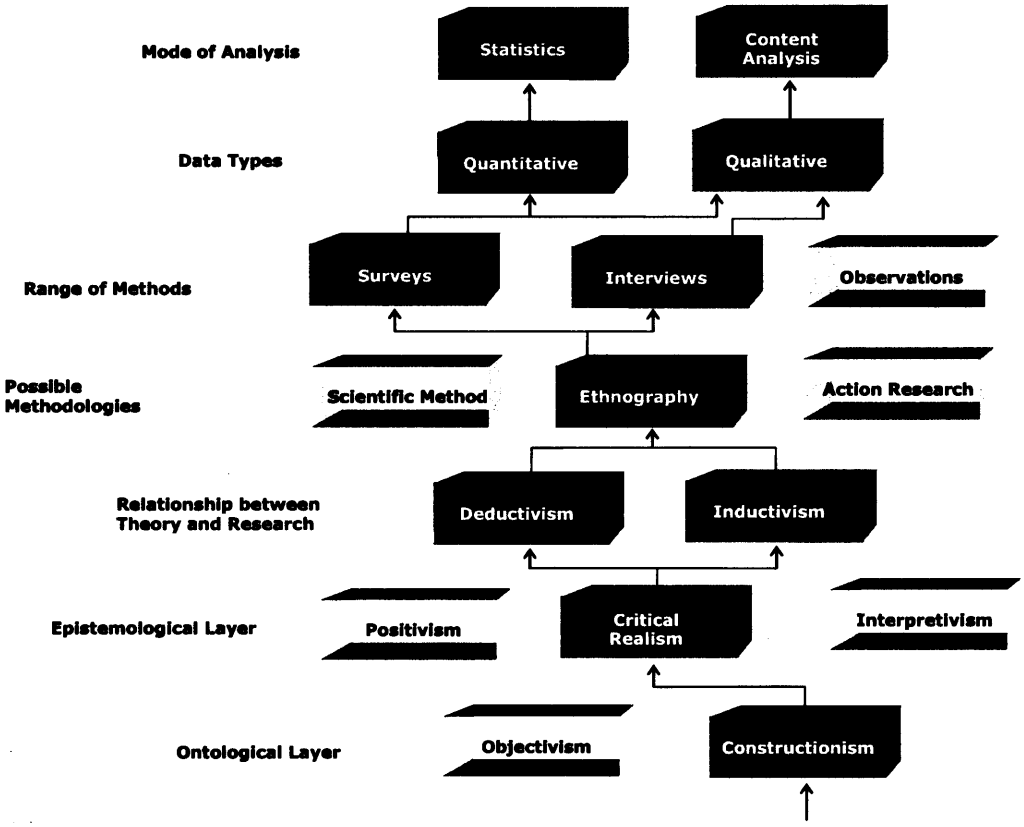
On the other hand qualitative research puts the emphasis on words. Qualitative researchers sustain the view that human behaviour is influenced by the environment in which it occurs and that individuals bring their own differing values and perspectives in a setting. The goal of the qualitative approach is to determine what the participants think as important (Ball 1974; Bonner 1989; Korn 1989). This kind of research originates in anthropology and ethnography and qualitative researchers, who believe that they follow a humanistic approach to understanding social situations, usually use ethnographic techniques in collecting their data. These may include unstructured observation, in depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires, focus groups, etc. The sample of respondents is definitely smaller compared to the quantitative approach (Miles 1988).

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have merits and weaknesses and over the years they have been the focus of criticism on various points. Nevertheless, the debate about their virtues and limitations is still widespread and researchers' opinions vary significantly with some arguing that the two paradigms are absolutely separate and others presenting and using them as related and interdependent in a so-called multi-strategy or mixed methodology (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). Quite aside from the situation in the general field of social research the multi-strategy approach is in favour in the museum evaluation area. Most museum evaluators agree that quantitative and qualitative researches are inherently more complementary rather than competitive alternatives. Using the two strategies in conjunction, when tailoring a specific investigation to the needs of a particular situation, might be a very effective way to reveal both general trends and individual differences. (Bitgood 1988; Bonner 1989; McManus 1993; Diamond 1999).

This multi-strategy idea informed the methodology for this research. Certainly, the relationship between theory and research is not as straightforward as depicted in the diagram below (Figure 3.1 on the next page) and there is a constant interaction between ideas that derive from various theoretical perspectives of the anyway diverse and

complicated social world. Therefore the framework presented here is not representative of the plethora of theoretical paradigms and approaches that have been engaged in social research. It rather acknowledges the commonest research assumptions and skates over more complex issues that might present linked meanings allied to different (ontological, epistemological, methodological) versions of the same term.

Figure 3.1 *Research path traced through main philosophical paradigms and methodologies*



The development of a concrete methodological path provides a sound foundation for the consideration of this research from the point of view of my own intellectual positioning, therefore validating research assumptions and inquiries as well as the general research strategy. The situation of paradigms into ontological, epistemological and theoretical layers follows relevant categorisations subsumed by various authors and mainly by Bryman (Bryman 2004).

Thus, by reflecting on the various paradigms, I decided that the theory that best expresses my worldview from the ontological perspective has been constructionism, or constructivism, as it is also referred to in the literature. Constructivism in the sense mentioned here must not be confused with constructivism as defined by the psychologist Piaget and currently much discussed in museum education theory. Constructionism assumes that "social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors" (Bryman 2004, 17). In other words it does not subsume any pre-existing characteristics or external reality in how the world or knowledge is formed but argues that social phenomena are in a constant state of change. However, not all the authors who pursue a constructionist position adopt the extreme view of Walsh (Walsh 1972) who accepts no existence of objective reality and the term constructionism is used here in relation to the meaning given by those authors who recognise a sort of pre-existing reality (Becker 1982).

Along the same vein, critical realism which stands between positivism and interpretivism and asserts that the "social world is reproduced and transformed in daily life" (Bhaskar 1989, 4) best suits my epistemological concerns. In complementary fashion the embracing of the idea of constructivist museum as suggested by George Hein (Hein 1995; Hein 1998), would bring in constructivism as defined by the psychologist Piaget when speaking of an individual's development of conceptions about the world. Hein in reworking Piaget's work for the museum context places visitors in the centre of museum's activities. This could be a potential model of the 21st century folk life museum while it also supports my ontological and epistemological predilections.

Moving to the methodology chosen, by engaging both deductive and inductive approaches I opt for ethnography, as applied in the museum world, as the most appropriate methodology while the most suitable methods are considered to be surveys, including questionnaires with both closed and open-ended questions, and semi structured interviews. Accordingly, surveys with visitors and curators and a Museum Critical Review programme were undertaken. Data are statistically analysed but content analysis is also employed for qualitative data.

3.4 Exploration of visitors' and curators' perceptions for this project

3.4.1 The visitor survey

The most appropriate research design to best suit the thesis' research questions and objectives (see chapter 1, section 1.2) as well as the suggested research path of the project was considered to be the cross – sectional design or, as it is more commonly and perhaps erroneously known, the survey design.

Sample surveys have been widely used in museum visitor studies either in isolation or in conjunction with other methods. A sample survey is a systematic and standardised approach to collecting data. It usually comprises a standardised questionnaire, which is analysed statistically and usually reported in percentages. Depending on the sample size a standardised questionnaire might contain either only closed questions, the answers to which are easier to code and analyse, or both closed and open-ended questions so that quantitative and qualitative output are gathered (Korn 1989). Questionnaires may be either self-administered or interviewers may ask the questions. In some cases questionnaires may be sent by mail while in other cases a telephone survey may also be very effective (Hood 1986). In the case of standardised questionnaire surveys, the larger the sample the more reliable and representative of a particular population the results will be.

The present study was interested in detecting patterns of association among many variables by predominantly employing self-completion questionnaires with the researcher present and structured interviews as its research methods.

A questionnaire-based survey in particular, was seen to be the most appropriate means of collecting the necessary data about visitors' perceptions about folk life and social history. Both closed and open-ended questions were engaged so that personal attitudes and behaviours about these issues could be explored. It was considered very important to offer the respondents the opportunity to set their own pace when thinking about the questions so that they could have the opportunity to give considered answers, something that would be more difficult in a time-pressured personal interview. The researcher was always present if needed.

In any case questionnaires are considered to be popular research tools that present some overwhelming advantages compared to other methodological techniques such as depth

interviews and focus groups. First of all, a questionnaire is low cost, a determining factor for this project, which was mainly self funded. Secondly it is the best way to retrieve a large amount of information from a lot of people in a limited time span (Gillham 2000), a feature that was also judged as critically important if the project was to complete on time. Other general positive features of the use of questionnaires, for instance the relatively straightforward analysis of considerable amounts of data also played a pivotal role in the selection of this method as the main tool of the study.

The actual research questionnaire was designed following a small scale pilot study conducted in January 2003 at the National Historical Museum of Athens in Greece. The pilot survey was crucial for the project as it generated the majority of the closed questions for the self-completion questionnaires and the contents of the structured interviews employed later in the curators' survey.

3.4.2 The pilot survey

The first round of questions in the pilot needed to be exploratory as the aim, at that point, was first to seek new topics for inclusion and second to confirm those that had been provisionally drafted. Consequently a qualitative approach using in depth interviews that yielded rich results was followed. In fact a qualitative strategy is considered very helpful at an initial stage of a survey in order to inform the design of a quantitative research at a later point (Bryman 2004). In depth interviews are unstructured interviews that give detailed qualitative information that may be very revealing. As qualitative interviews are time consuming only six joint interviews took place in the pilot survey, from which, however, emerged many key questions for the actual questionnaire. Besides, small sample sizes are useful when the purpose of the research is to generate ideas that will be tested at a later stage (Diamond 1999).

Participants were asked to define folk life and social history in their own words so that once people's thinking patterns became clear, a more structured procedure could be used. Interviews, which lasted approximately 30-45 minutes each, were tape recorded with respondents' permission, and were then transcribed and coded in order to be also numerically analysed. The inductive analysis of the interview data, which provided broader concepts and ideas about folk life and social history, presented a wide diversity that suggested a rather unclear picture of the meanings and co-relations between the two

concepts of folk life and social history. In order to further explore the apparent shadowiness of the two concepts at this preliminary stage, a questionnaire (Appendix I) was developed and distributed to senior and lower, including wardens, museum staff of the National Historical Museum, Athens, Greece. Thirty six questionnaires in total were completed. Another amended questionnaire was also distributed to a small sample of students (11 pupils) between the ages 10-16 at the Greek School of St Sophia in London.

The responses to the questionnaires administered to the personnel of the National Historical Museum, though obviously biased by the fact that the individuals questioned were very familiar with folk life exhibitions - the museum owns one of the oldest and most important folk life collections in Greece - provided some interesting outcomes that aided significantly the development of questions for the actual questionnaire. There was often no consistency among curators' opinions whilst the existence of communication gaps was implied by the often diametrically opposed responses between senior and lower level museum staff. This indication of communication discrepancies in the understanding and interpretation of folklore and social history was vital with regards to the later decision to target the questionnaire to both groups of museum visitors and museum curators.

A deep confusion about the concepts of folklore and social history was observed amongst children's opinions, a fact that led to the decision to exclude respondents under fifteen from the final sample as the questionnaire seemed not to be appropriate for children of that age range.

3.4.3 Designing the questionnaire

A combination of both closed and open-ended questions was employed for the survey questionnaire (Appendix II). Careful design and testing was implemented to insure that misunderstandings would be avoided and that a robust version would be finally produced.

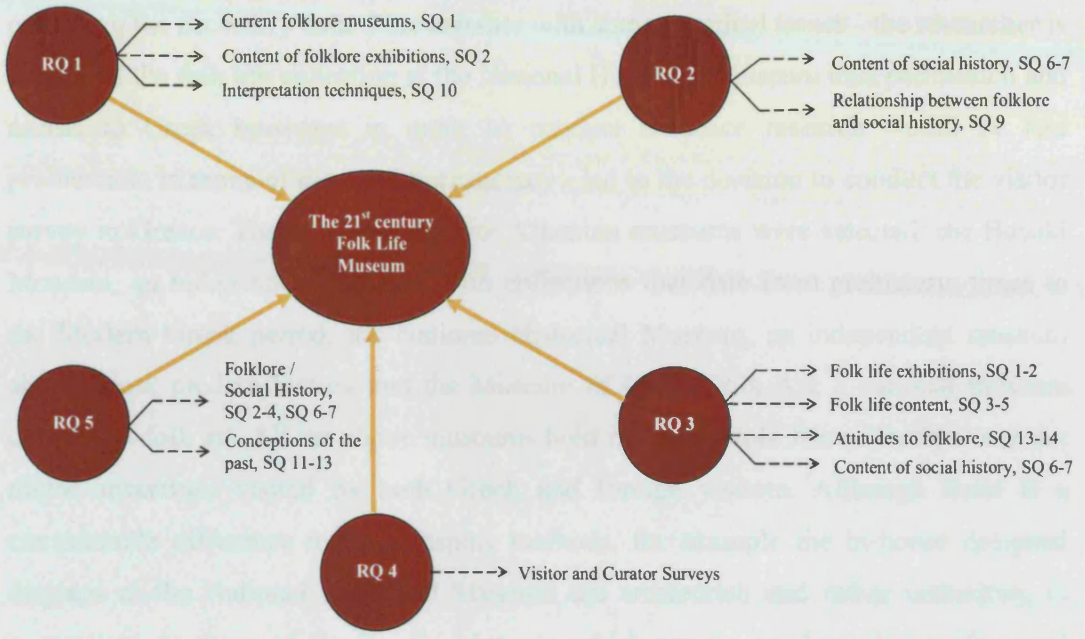
The inductive analysis of the data collected in the pilot study provided broad concepts and ideas about folk life and social history the exploration of which called for the design of a standardized questionnaire that could be used to collect equivalent data at different

museums. In addition to questions related to demographic variables the questionnaire sought to elicit information on visitors' introspective experiences of folk life and social history exhibitions. This was done in two complementary ways. Drawing on the data of the pilot survey, various sets of items were listed which respondents were either requested to tick if they agreed or to respond to on a 3-point Likert-type scale (1= *agree*, 2= *neutral,* 3= *disagree*). The lists of these statements were preceded or/and followed by open-ended questions to capture other possibilities that either intentionally or unintentionally may have been missed. Despite the well-known difficulties associated with open - ended questions – time consuming post-coding, the possibility of data processing inconsistency as well as the likelihood of poor response rate in self administered questionnaires (Bryman 2004) – the later were considered necessary for the project as the objective of the questionnaire, as already stated above, was not only to provide quantitative measurements but insight into visitor experiences as well. For that same reason it was decided not to offer the possibility of a "don't know" option. The questionnaire required some thinking from the respondents in order to report true and meaningful opinions and therefore the option of "don't know" was not offered in order to prevent the possibility of a thoughtless selection of replies in cases where visitors were not sure about their answers or might become disinterested as the questionnaire proceeded (Krosnick, Holbrook et al. 2002).

In order to make the questionnaire easier to respond to, survey questions were grouped into four framework categories under the general headings *Folk Life, Social History, Relationship Between Social History and Folk Life* and *Conceptions of the Past.* Moreover, they were further classified so that sub-questions of each question were basically of the same type (Bryman 2004). More specifically factual questions, questions that explored attitude, behaviour, knowledge, etc., were clustered together in order to develop a logical sequence and create a valid and reliable questionnaire.

Attention to detail ensured that the questions of the survey addressed the project research questions closely. In fact the replies to each of the four sections provide a considerable number of answers to respective research questions as is shown by Figure 3.2 on the next page. Demographic questions, necessary for the later analysis of patterns of correlations, were incorporated in a separate category under the heading *Personal Background* at the end of the questionnaire.

Figure 3.2 *Links between research and survey questions. RQ=Research Question (see chapter 1, section 1.2), SQ= Survey Question (see Appendix II)*



3.4.4 Pre-testing questions

In order to reveal any ambiguous questions or instructions a draft questionnaire was pre-tested for content, method of administration and design (Korn and Sowd 1990) first on family and friends and then on staff of the National Historical Museum, Athens, Greece. As a consequence of this pilot test questions moved around and amendments were made to ensure a better flow and a logical developmental order. Before the actual survey the questionnaire was also tried out with ten visitors. The final version was completed in the early summer of 2003.

3.4.5 Sampling and survey administration

One of the first priorities of the study was the selection of museums for the visitor survey. On the one hand the sample had to include both Greek and foreign visitors as answers were also sought for the last research question which is related to the Greek situation (see chapter 1, section 1.2). On the other hand the questionnaire is not about

specific museums but about museum visitors' general opinions about topics related to the subjects of folk life and social history museums. Thus potentially every museum with a folk life or/and social history collection would be an adequate setting for collecting the necessary data. This together with some practical issues - the researcher is curator of the folk life collection at the National Historical Museum thus permission and access to Greek museums in order to conduct audience research would be less problematic in terms of time and bureaucracy - led to the decision to conduct the visitor survey in Greece. Therefore three major Athenian museums were selected: the Benaki Museum, an independent museum with collections that date from prehistoric times to the Modern Greek period, the National Historical Museum, an independent museum about Greek modern history and the Museum of Greek Folk Art, a national museum devoted to folk art. All the above museums hold important folk life collections and are major attractions visited by both Greek and foreign visitors. Although there is a considerable difference in their display methods, for example the in-house designed displays at the National Historical Museum are amateurish and rather unexciting in comparison to those of the Benaki Museum which are the product of a professional architect/exhibition designer and therefore more pleasurable and aesthetically pleasing, the interpretative and communicative methods, as far as folklore is concerned, scarcely vary. In fact they are all typical examples of the conventional presentation of folklore as nineteenth century rural material culture. Accordingly their permanent folk life exhibitions focus on the glass case taxonomic presentation of traditional costumes and embroideries in a clearly object centred rather than people oriented display.

The analysis of the visitor profiles of the three participant museums, after the first round of surveys in summer and autumn 2003, did not yield any significant variation; on the contrary visitor profiles are quite similar, indicating the typical educated and middle-class visitor profile of any European museum. Subsequently the second round of surveys (summer 2004) was conducted only at the National Historical Museum, again for practical reasons –there was the possibility of using the Old Parliament Chamber and therefore there were more seats available for the visitors who participated in the research. Apart from selecting the appropriate settings for the surveys another equally if not more important concern was to achieve a representative sample of the Athenian museum visiting population. The size of the sample was largely determined by calculating what could be achieved with the resources available within a time limit and the survey being administered by one person only. In an attempt to modify sampling

errors to around 2% at the 95% - 5% interval and in view of the recommendations given for sample selection size by the American National Endowment for the Arts (Korn and Sowd 1990, 43), a sample size of 500+ individuals was selected.

The survey was carried out during August, October, November 2003 and July and August 2004. The final sample size was 551 museum visitors: 352 from the National Historical Museum, 135 from the Benaki Museum, and 64 from the Museum of Greek Folk Art (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 *Sample size (N=551 individuals)*

Name of Museum	**Frequency**	**Percentage (%)**
National Historical Museum	352	63.9
Benaki Museum	135	24.5
Museum of Greek Folk Art	64	11.6
Total	551	100.0

Due to time and financial constraints the survey could not be carried out throughout the whole year. Some selection bias, attributable to the seasonal selection, may consequently have occurred, though an attempt to achieve a more likely representative sample was sought by conducting the research both in August, a typical holiday month for Greece and in October/November when visitor patterns are more settled. To prevent a biased sample resulting from a possible different composition of museum visitors between weekdays and weekends the survey was conducted every day of the week.

Questionnaires were delivered and collected by the interviewer following a systematic random sampling method. The first person to come from the folk gallery when the seating area became vacant was invited to participate. All potential participants were approached by the investigator and asked whether they would discuss their perception or understanding of folk life and social history. Those accepting were taken to a quiet seating area close to the exit, were given the questionnaire and requested to fill it in. The presence of the interviewer was critical not only in achieving a high response rate but also in generating a more precise response rate, for should the respondents be unclear about the meaning of a question they could-and they did-easily ask for clarification. Respondents under fifteen were excluded from the sample. Visitors in groups of any sort were given an individual questionnaire to complete alone. In case of non-response

to the invitation to participate the next visitor was approached. The questionnaire took fifteen to twenty minutes to complete.

Finally, it is noteworthy that time and financial reasons were the most important barriers to extending the survey to non-visitor groups which might have provided a more complete view of people's attitudes towards folklore, social history and related exhibitions. This gap remains to be filled by another project after the completion of this work.

3.4.6 Ethical considerations

Although the study did not involve serious ethical implications, considerations of this kind were always kept well in mind in order to conduct responsible research.

More specifically, the nature of the research was carefully communicated to participants when introducing the project whilst an effort was taken to ensure that they fully understood what they were requested to do. The required time commitment, the nature of the survey, as well as the areas that the survey covered, were clearly stated so that visitors' informed consent to participate was given. It was also made clear that it was not their personal knowledge that was tested but rather their personal opinions on the specific topics so that their views could be compared to the experts' view and vice versa for development of future folklore exhibitions. Furthermore, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured at all times. People were pleased to participate in the survey especially when they related it to a doctoral thesis.

3.4.7 The expert curator survey

In order to investigate whether casual visitors' perceptions about folk life and social history varied significantly from those that museum staff perceived themselves to be offering through folk life and social history displays, the same questions were applied within this group. The sample of curators had to be selected with the particular purpose of representing museum experts associated with folklife and/or social history collections. Two methods were then engaged in order to achieve as large a sample as possible.

Curator interviews

A handpicked sampling (O'Leary 2004, 110) of 42 curators from those European museums whose exhibitions were also Critically Reviewed for the research and were, as such, considered typical and "expert" representative, was employed. An initial letter introducing the research and emphasising the importance of the study and the respondents' contribution was sent and further contact was made through e-mails and telephone communication. When in their museum, one to one semi-structured interviews with curators and/or museum directors, which allowed them to articulate their perceptions of folklore and social history from their own cognitive framework, were conducted. Forty two interviews were carried out in Greece, Helsinki, Luxembourg, Paris, N. Ireland, Berlin, Vienna, the Netherlands and UK.

Curator postal survey

Secondly in order to extend the sample by postal means the Social History Curators Group, a British group with interests closely related to those of the study, was contacted and a mail back survey was carried out. The Group willingly offered to include the questionnaire in the April 2004 mail out to its members. No follow up questionnaires were sent due to financial reasons but 65 replies were received.

It is worth noticing that these respondents were all special interest group people, highly motivated to participate in the research, who by their position influence communications with visitors.

3.5 Museum Critical Reviews

Critical Review is a relatively new methodological tool which has been widely used in museums to examine the communications offered in three dimensional displays of objects, graphics and labels (Wittlin 1971; McManus 1986; Arnold 1996; McLean 1998; Shettel 2000) in order to identify problems either before conducting a summative evaluation (Bitgood and Benefield 1995) or before undertaking major renovation (Serrell 2006, 59). Criticism in various areas is considered an accepted method of informing development, illuminating interesting points and highlighting nuances for

further improvement of a programme. Likewise, Museum Critical Reviews by drawing on the professionally orientated investigator's knowledge and expertise (Hayward 1998, 11; Serrell 1998; McLean 2006, 54), (arguably without employing any visitors' input) provide a challenging way to understand the nature of the museum-going experience through relying on the expertise gained by an evaluator or researcher through intimate familiarisation with many museums (John and Perry 1993).

Critical Reviews of folk life/social history exhibitions in this study have generally followed the assessment model developed by Paulette McManus and Kathleen McLean (McManus 1986; McLean 1998) which focuses on evaluating organizational clarity, exhibition environment, appropriateness of interpretative media and overall effectiveness of communication. Certainly, there was no possibility of combining the Critical Reviews with individual evaluation studies which would appraise visitor experience in each case and could guarantee a more credible criticism (Shettel 1998; Archibald 2000, 16). However, the focal purpose of these Reviews was not the upgrading of existing exhibitions but rather the provision of general information on the way folklore is interpreted in contemporary museums and on the impact that folk life displays might have upon visitors' understanding of folklore. Ostensibly, the assumption that several misconceptions about folklore could be attributed to the way it is presented in folk life museums was explored and a further insight in the relationship between museums and their visitors was investigated (see chapter 4).

Visits were paid to the following European museums with folk life and/or social history collections:

Austria:

- Austrian Museum of Folk life and Folk Art
- Vienna Historical Museum in Vienna

Belgium:

- Folklore Museum in Antwerpen
- Folklore Museum in Brugge

Finland:

- Helsinki City Museum
- The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum

France:

- Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires

Germany:

- German Historical Museum
- The Jewish Museum in Berlin
- Heimatmuseum in Charlottenbourg
- Museum of European Cultures

Greece:

- Benaki Museum
- National Historical Museum
- Museum of Greek Folk Art

Luxembourg:

- Museum of the City of Luxembourg
- National Museum of History and Art

The Netherlands:

- Volendam Museum
- Netherlands Open Air Museum
- Zaans Museum
- Zuiderzeemuseum

United Kingdom:

- Blaise House Museum in Bristol
- Weald and Downland Open Air Museum in Sussex
- Ulster-American Folk Park in Belfast, N. Ireland
- Ulster Folk and Transport Museum in Belfast, N. Ireland

The selection of the above museums/exhibitions for the Critical Reviews was made on the grounds that they have in some way an association with folklore. They either include the word folk in their name or they display folk life or social history collections.

In the current study, Critical Reviews employed in conjunction with visitor surveys and curator interviews and mail surveys is an additional tool supporting the research, which is aimed at improving the effectiveness of folk life exhibitions and strengthening the relationship with their visitors.

3.6 Summary

This chapter presented the methodology engaged in the present research project. A multi-faceted approach was adopted in order to "triangulate" different views about folk life and folk life/social history museums by different stakeholders. Using different sets of evidence this multiple perspective approach expects to gradually achieve a closer approximation of reality thus enhancing the possibility of acquiring better knowledge and understanding of the issues concerned.

The next chapter offers an extended analysis of the Museum Critical Reviews involved in this study.

4 Folklore in European Museums

4.1 Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis laid the theoretical foundations of folklore by putting a particular emphasis on its dynamic character and its relation to contemporary societies. In moving from theory to practice this chapter is charged with exploring how folklore is collected, exhibited and managed in European museums. Ignorance of the current folklore theory as well as conventional institutional assumptions about folklore made by museum curators and exhibition designers are bound to have an impact on how folklore is represented in museum displays. Such underpinning decisions in forming notions of folklore and also in emphasising or downplaying it as a museological subject might have served some inner or outer socio-political considerations and might have controlled or shaped the view of the wider public about folklore as a cultural activity. The exploration of the current situation in today's museums in relation to modern folklore theory sheds light on some of the issues that these museums have to confront and provides input to research questions (i), (ii) and (v) of the study (see chapter 1, section 1.2).

This chapter initially makes a brief overview of the historical forces that led to the foundation of folk life museums and then it moves to twenty four museum case studies. The chapter ends with an overview of the characteristics of the museums examined and a discussion which indicates their diversity.

4.2 Folklore in museums: a history

4.2.1 Foundations

Folk life museums have sprung from the same historical conditions that led to the emergence of folklore as a discipline all around Europe in the nineteenth century.

Commodities of the recent past, which had once been considered of no intrinsic value, because of a lack of association with any historical occasion, started to gain importance in museum collections on the grounds that greater emphasis was then drawn upon the lives and experiences of the ordinary people. Those first collections of local bygones which were thought to reinforce any notion of national and/or regional identity (Thompson 1985) formed the core of the first folk museums.

Scandinavia pioneered folkloric museums with the novice attempt of Artur Hazelius who, thanks to his devoted patriotism and romanticism towards a past that was disappearing, developed a strong interest in preserving Scandinavian ethnography. As early as 1872-1873 he started collecting, during long field trips, multifarious Swedish ethnological materials consisting of both tangible and intangible culture: clothes, furniture, tools, paintings as well as notes on music, dance, stories and sayings. These collections constituted the core of the *Museum of Scandinavian Folklore* which Hazelius established in Stockholm in 1873 and which in 1907 was housed in a new building sponsored by the Swedish government under the name *Nordiska Museet.* The new museum was intended to be a centre of research and scholarship but also a place where material culture, regional and cultural identity, and social diversity could be appropriately understood (Kavanagh 1990; Davis 1999). Such an ambitious aim was actually achieved by adopting a new way of exhibiting, that of culture history arrangement. The collections were not displayed in a linear or chronological order but in small scenes. The display, also supported by the use of wax figures, helped visitors to contemplate past life, so leading to public interest in the recent past. Hazelius' vision for the preservation of the old Swedish way of life was further accomplished in 1891, when he opened *Skansen*, an outdoor complement of Nordiska Museet, which was the first open-air museum in history. Selected Swedish buildings with appropriately furnished interiors, costumed interpreters, folk dancers and singers, live demonstrations of craft techniques and other festivities, were used to create a record of Sweden up to that time

and to alert Swedish national consciousness towards the massive cultural effects of industrialisation and the fierce changes of modern life (Alexander 1979, 85).

Nordiska Museet and Skansen were undoubtedly the predecessors of folk life museums in the rest of the world, with other Scandinavian versions also to play leading parts; the *Danish Folk Museum* opened in 1881, the *Norsk Folkemuseum* in 1887, the *Sandvigske Samlinger* in Lillehammer, Norway, in 1887 and the *Den Gamle By* (the Old Town) in Denmark in 1909 (Kavanagh 1990). In the USA the *Norwegian – American Museum*, which is considered the first folk museum on that continent, was founded by Norwegian emigrants in 1877. In Britain the leading figures of a folk life movement were Iorwerth Peate (1901-1982), founder of the *Welsh Folk Museum* and Isobel Grant (1887-1983), founder of the *Highland Folk Museum* in Scotland. Both believed that the everyday life of the common people was an important museum resource and consequently devoted themselves to the thorough collection and research of current objects of everyday use, customs and oral traditions. Peate had adopted the term *folk life* instead of the Scandinavian term *regional ethnology* and was focusing on the rural way of life while Grant, although she used the term *folk*, was trying to follow modern trends and was very much concerned with the negative connotations of peasantry and tradition that had already started to become associated with the word (Kavanagh 1990).

4.2.2 Twentieth century

Between the world wars more museums with a folk life impetus came to the fore throughout Europe. The *Museum of Greek Folk Art* was founded in 1918 under the name *Museum of Greek Handicrafts* and the *Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires* opened in Paris in 1937. In Nazi Germany, although with the deep aim of promoting nationalist propaganda, popular culture found its place in *heimatmuseums*. Heimatmuseums - homeland museums - have strong associations with folklore as the idea of the community, which is at the core of their philosophy (Davis 1999, 47), is also vital for folklore expression.

In the States the *Norwegian – American Museum* of 1877 was without any significant followers until around the 1950s when it is said that a folk life museum boom started and continues up to today (Jones and Matelic 1987).

Folk museums appear to offer visitors an insight into ordinary life highlighting at the same time the distinctive local and regional character of each area. This emphasis on the importance of locality and the achievements of the ordinary person might suggest some common ground between folk life museums and the sense of the ecomuseum, which was forming in the post Second World War period in France. However, although ecomuseums might encompass folklore in their activities and some of the features of the ecomuseum movement might be generously found in several folk or open-air museums there are two parameters that provide essential distinctions between the two institutions: the special role that territory and community play in ecomuseum theory. As articulated in the ICOM definition:

> "The ecomuseum is an institution which manages, studies and exploits ... the entire heritage of a given community including the whole natural environment and cultural milieu. Thus the ecomuseum is a vehicle for public participation in community planning and development. To this end the ecomuseum uses all means and methods at its disposal in order to allow the public to comprehend, criticise and master – in a liberal and responsible manner – the problems which it faces" (Anon 1978).

The authentic ecomuseum - there are many organisations that have appropriated the label without abiding by the ecomuseum's philosophical principles with the consequence of criticism of the ecomuseum movement – consists of a defined geographical area owned and run by the local community (Davis 1999; Davis 2004, 94; Davis 2005). As quoted by Davis, René Rivard has been very explicit in defining the traditional museum as the entirety of buildings, collections, experts and public, and the ecomuseum as the whole of territory, heritage, memory and population (Davis 2004, 96).

Collective memory along with the emphasis on "ordinary" and the reinforcement of a sense of identity may evoke similarities with other museum types such as the folk life, the community, the neighbourhood and the local history museum which however, should be seen as parallel rather than similar institutions with the same conceptual scope of democratisation of culture and heritage.

4.2.3 The modern context - A negative museological inheritance

Issues such as community involvement and social inclusion attribute a social role to folk museums. Such a role, however, has not always been a priority. In the UK for example, the lack of a coherent methodology in several small rural museums founded during the 1950s, gave many negative connotations to folk life so making it a marginalized discipline and making folk museums appear to be simple collections of old objects displayed with no sense of intellectual purpose and social principles (Kavanagh 1990).

In the years to come the social role of folk museums was rediscovered and together with the new interest in preserving industrial heritage there is now a general trend to drift away from the old term *folk life* and adopt a new one, that of *social history*.

The terminology problem discussed in detail in the previous theoretical analysis also definitely exists in the area of museums. One can easily conclude that the term folk life is currently sparingly used in European museums in favour of some other terms such as social history, regional history, local history, ethnology, cultural history, popular traditions, folk art, etc. These terms, which in most cases have the same general field of reference, certainly have their own implications and it is a part of this study to suggest whether their use enhances or limits the effort of democratising history as it is displayed in museums. The term *social history*, in particular, is explored in this study through a survey addressed both to museum visitors and museum staff.

Beyond the terminology issue, however, if there is one subject bound to generate worries in the arena of folk life museums it is their actual interpretation of folk life and not the word they chose to designate this area of study.

While some museums offer lively modern visitor orientated presentations many museums display glass cases of 19th peasant dress and agricultural implements in a stereotypical manner. Their collection presentation has not altered significantly for a hundred years. This could send out subliminal message to visitors that folk life is only about times long past

The modern conception of folklore as a communicative process and a living entity of contemporary societies might broach a more general controversial point about its possible interpretation in museums. The main dilemma might be whether folklore has an a priori place in museums and, if this applies, whether it should be the focal point of

an autonomous folk museum or whether it should be explored and presented through a variety of other museums. These could concentrate on human life and cultural history and either be community museums or historical, ethnographical and archaeological ones – let us not forget that folklore is universal and timeless; it's only the discipline of folklore that was formally established in the nineteenth century and not its content.

4.3 Museum Critical Reviews

As already discussed in Chapter 3 (see chapter 3, section 3.5), Museum Critical Reviews have been used widely to investigate museums' communicative and interpretative means.

The following examination of twenty four European sites and museums with an existing or potential folk life interest demonstrates the various ways folklore is presented and interpreted in today museums. Although, as has been elaborated in the historical overview of folklore theory (see chapter 2, section 2.3) folklore can be also traced in eras long past and therefore could play a vital role in archaeological museums and other museums focusing on distant civilisations, this study concentrates on the period after folklore was established as an independent academic discipline, and so the museums reviewed are institutions that have an interest in the more recent past. The nature and subject of the twenty four examined museums could be considered under the broad category of history museums. In selecting them for this sample it was thought that they might come closer to what folklore is nowadays supposed to express and therefore more likely to have included folklore in their collection and interpretative activities. In particular, the European museums presented here were selected after considering whether the word folk was included in their title or whether they possessed and/or displayed folk life or social history collections.

The following Museum Critical Reviews are by no means exhaustive but focus on specific topics. In particular what is principally examined is whether folklore is present in each museum and, if so, how it is perceived, interpreted and therefore delivered to museum audiences. "When and how" collections were formed together with the museum's status (national, independent or local authority) are also taken into account as they might reflect some deeper judgements of the way each museum attempts to assert its collections' role in its communication policies.

The Museum Critical Reviews are presented in a geographical order as hints about differences in the way folklore is perceived in different countries have been indicated by the surveys presented in the following chapters.

Details about date and time of each Review as well as practical visiting information for each museum are offered in Appendix III.

4.3.1 Austria (N= 2)

Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art

The Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art (Picture 4.1) was established by the Vienna Folklore Society, which was officially founded in Vienna in 1894 by well-known individuals of Viennese society. The Society then embarked on the publication of a quarterly journal presenting up to date folklore research and founded a folklore museum which promoted folklore at a time when this new field of study was struggling to establish itself as a new discipline.

Picture 4.1 *The Austrian Museum of Folklore © Olga Fakatseli*

The Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art was founded in 1895 and found its permanent home in the sixteenth century Schönborn Garden Palace in 1917. The building has been subjected to various alterations to host the museum and the most recent renovation, which supported the redisplays of the museum exhibits, took place between 1980-1990.

The museum has a vast collection of pre-industrial objects as well as a variety of folk art objects from Austria and neighbouring European countries, a fact that expands it from a

local folklore museum to a museum of European cultures. The permanent displays are housed on the ground floor while the first floor is reserved for temporary exhibitions.

Picture 4.2 *A view of the permanent display featuring a variety of folk objects © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.3 *A glimpse on the temporary exhibition "15+10 European identities" where the ten new members of the European Union presented one of their most representative and symbolic objects © Olga Fakatseli*

After the latest renovation the collections were displayed from a people orientated perspective that relates objects to people and would facilitate visitors' associations to the world that surrounds them. As stated in the museum's leaflet, the new design of the exhibitions and the interpretation of the collections sought to illuminate everyday life of the past, so encouraging the exploration of people's relationships with their environment, their economy, their society and their cultural history. This compelling and sensitive conceptualisation of the past is albeit very challenging and demands the creative mix of diverse communicative media and the acceptance of the limitations that the simple use of material evidence presents. The Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art attempted to convey its messages relating entirely to material culture and in particular to the rural folk material culture of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, which constitutes the museum collection. Yet, there is no story line to follow in the permanent displays of the museum and the only interpretative means used are written labels in German with basic information in English although, the museum states that it addresses Viennese and foreign visitors alike. So, contrary to the museum's expectations, the new displays (Picture 4.2) fail to place people before objects and to confront issues that cannot be illustrated with material culture. Folkloric objects might offer unique possibilities to articulate deep meanings and social messages about a community's beliefs and way of life (Rattue 1996, 221) but it is rather incongruous to suppose that objects can always speak for themselves. Within the realm of modern communication and interpretation there are several arguments upon which museum folklorists could draw to construct contextual histories. Oral culture, which has close

relations to folklore and might have been an influential supplement to the material culture, is nowhere engaged.

The permanent exhibitions of the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art are not liberated from the stereotypical image of folklore as rustic and quaint material culture. They fail to create space for a contemporary awareness of folklore as something at the core of the mainstream and therefore remain old fashioned and traditional.

It is worth noting however, that the museum attempts to tackle more controversial issues in its temporary exhibitions (Picture 4.3). These displays might not always be state of the art from the point of view of design and aesthetics but they succeed in impinging upon visitors' minds that subjects such as national or communal identity, birth and the beginning of life, leisure, as well as other lifestyle issues such as the use of underwear and fashion accessories might be well presented in a folklore museum, extending therefore the meaning of folklore in contemporary societies.

Wien Museum Karlsplatz

The museum of the city of Vienna (Picture 4.4) is an urban museum that tells the story of the city through a wide spectrum of collections that range from archaeological material to twentieth century fashion and objects documenting everyday life. The museum has several branches in the city's districts spread around the core museum, the Vienna Museum Karlsplatz. These comprise archaeological sites, historic houses and collections, a fashion museum, a clocks museum and monuments of contemporary architecture such as the Otto Wagner pavilions. This review is focused on the permanent displays of the principal museum of the city of Vienna.

The permanent displays of the main museum in Karlsplatz (Picture 4.5) - no temporary exhibition was on at the time of the visit - are arranged on three floors in a chronological sequence that covers the period from the city's establishment to the present day. The collections are beautifully assembled and are aesthetically appealing. However, the goal of the museum, which according to the information on the leaflet is to reveal the hidden stories of objects and to stimulate discussions about contemporary issues, is not obvious at all. The museum claims to display its art and historic collections from a socio-political perspective so attempting to reveal the possible impact

that objects had on people's lives. Yet, such an orientation could only be possible if the museum was not concentrating exclusively on the presentation of objects but on ideas, values and beliefs as well. As David Fleming writing about the future of city history museums has so controversially stated:

> "Museums will have to accept that, as evidence, objects have outlived their golden age, which, we might venture, was the period 1850-1950 in the developed world, and broaden their horizons accordingly".(Fleming 1998, 146).

Picture 4.4 *The museum façade © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.5 *Aspects of the permanent displays © Wien Museum Karlsplatz*

However, the Vienna City Museum exhibitions are entirely related to objects without providing visitors with the possibility of a critical interpretation of the history of their city. Moreover, the museum has done very little in order to be accessible to a wide audience. For example, there was no information in English, French or any language apart from German, although foreign visitors are one of the museum's target audiences as stated in the museum's German language leaflet. Maybe the policy for temporary exhibitions or the branch museums is very different and so justifies the museum's claims. The permanent displays however, give an elitist impression and create an isolated and sterilised environment wherein ordinary people might hardly identify themselves.

Despite my persistent attempts to arrange an appointment with either the director of the museum or a curator responsible for the social history collections, this proved to be impossible. Even when on site no curator agreed to take part in the study or to answer any of my questions relating to the museum and its collections. I was not even allowed to take photographs of the galleries and the photographs shown were given to me. Consequently this short review relies entirely on visual evidence without support from

any background information that would help me to better comprehend the museum structure and approach.

4.3.2 Belgium (N= 2)

The Folklore Museum in Antwerp, Volkskundemuseum

The Folklore Museum in Antwerp is the oldest folk life museum in Flanders. It grew out of the private collection of the poet and artist Max Elskamp (1862-1931) who had a special interest in folklore, and collected various folkloric items from around Flanders.

His collection was first presented in the folklore exhibition organised in Brussels in 1903 by the Association for the Conservation of Flemish Popular Traditions (which Max Elskamp also chaired). That exhibition sparked off the interest of the mayor of Antwerp, Jan van Rijswijck (1853-1906), who persuaded Max Elskamp to donate his collection to the City of Antwerp, so enabling the opening of the first folklore museum in Belgium. The first museum opened in Heilige Geeststraat in 1907. As the initial collection was gradually expanding the museum moved to Sint Andriestsraat where it stayed from 1935 to 1950 when it moved again to its present premises, the old guild houses, just behind the city hall (Picture 4.6). Although the museum is hidden behind the massive city hall its location is very central and very easy to find.

The collection currently boasts some one hundred and eighty thousand items that claim to cover the entire spectrum of popular culture of the people of Antwerp.

Some two thousand items are exhibited in the permanent displays, which are on three floors, presenting four different aspects of life:

- Festivity and relaxation (music, fairs, folk games and transport): on the ground floor;
- The course of life (birth, childhood, communion, school years, military service, engagement, marriage and death), folk medicine (tobacco and the Duwaerts' pharmacy), and religious folklore (pilgrimages, supernatural and superstitions): on the first floor;
- Objects related to household equipment, domestic handicrafts, local clubs and associations (Picture 4.7), and the puppet theatre: on the second floor;

- Finally, legendary characters of Antwerp are presented on the mezzanine floor.

Picture 4.6 *The façade of the Folklore Museum in Antwerp © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.7 *Costumes belonging to local associations © Olga Fakatseli*

The Folklore Museum in Antwerp is one of the very few museums with the word folk in their title that focuses on urban rather than rural folklore. This however may be because Antwerp has since the fourteenth century been an important trading and financial centre in Western Europe rather than a rural area. With an eye to such an historic past of the city it comes with no great surprise that the museum had from its establishment expressed a keen interest in urban folklore and contemporary life. The original collector collected lower working class objects and the first curator, Victor De Meyere (1873-1938), had stated that "everything which comes into vogue in a particular era, logically also expires in that same period" (Gerven 2004, 5). However, the collection mainly encompasses the nineteenth century and the museum's collection policy is restricted to the period of 1820-1920. Nevertheless, as the museum's curator Werner van Hoof made clear when interviewed, the museum staff are well aware of the significance of contemporary folklore and one of the future aims of the museum is the expansion of the collection policy to contemporary collecting. This gradual change of approach is also obvious in the museum guide book where in attempting to define folklore and folklore museum, words such as neighbourhood, present memory, mass culture, migration, friendship, leisure are quoted next to more traditional folklore-related words such as dowry, life cycle, tools, tradition, songs, past etc. The current attitude offers a more holistic approach of folklore as something relevant to contemporary societies that has to

do with every aspect of day to day living rather than being limited to "quaint" life in the past.

The Folklore Museum in Antwerp describes the daily life of the people of Antwerp and up to a point its aim is well accomplished.

The displays cover a wide variety of social life and give a good idea of how local people organised their everyday activities. However, they are old-fashioned and museologically traditional and the interpretation is rather restricted as it relies mainly on labels. These are well written and informative with references in some cases to relevant modern examples. They cannot, however, compensate for the lack of other more lively interpretative media. The various objects are thematically displayed and are not set in a wider historical context which could encourage a more comprehensive presentation of Antwerp life in the past. Community life through clubs and associations, for instance, could be better illustrated if displays were not restricted to the presentation of various costumes belonging to local associations but also encompassed complementary tangible or intangible documentation. On the other hand, however, the museum provides a wide range of educational facilities available to diverse groups – for example the possibility of learning various folk games – which offer a chance to actively engage the community in issues of local interest.

Furthermore, a consistent program of temporary exhibitions, which focus on contemporary city life, attempts to bridge the gap observed in the daily life in the past in the permanent displays. Temporary exhibitions also document daily life of modern communities in Antwerp while oral history is often used in specific projects.

This Folklore Museum in Antwerp is going to be reorganized shortly and become part of a new museum complex: the Museum aan de Stroom, together with the National Maritime Museum and the Vleeshuis Museum. This points to an integration of modern folkloric approaches into mainstream museum provision.

The Folklore Museum in Bruges, Volkskundemuseum

The Folklore Museum in Bruges (Picture 4.8) opened in 1939 thanks to the initiatives of the West Flemish Folklore Society. The collection, which had been presented in a large-scale folklore exhibition at Bruges Market Hall in 1937, was later transferred to the City Council and in 1973 the museum found its permanent location in the 17th-century

almshouses that belonged to the Bruges cobblers' corporation. Three more houses were added to the museum later on creating a total of fifteen rooms that house the entire collection.

Picture 4.8 *The Folklore Museum in Bruges © Folklore Museum in Bruges*

Picture 4.9 *A diorama featuring the cobbler's workshop Bruges © Folklore Museum in Bruges*

The collections are arranged thematically in order to reconstruct domestic interiors and working environments that attempt to evoke the atmosphere of bygone days for visitors. Authentic dioramas such as an old classroom, a Flemish living room, an old kitchen, a cobbler's (Picture 4.9) and a milliner's workshop, a grocery, an old chemist, a confectioner's where you can watch making of traditional confectionary, and the "Black Cat", the old pub which is the museum's café and has real beer on tap aim to recreate life in Bruges in times gone by. The museum also has extensive collections of folklore objects, such as a large pipe collection, traditional costumes, and devotional objects. Temporary exhibitions are held on the first floor while there is also a picturesque garden where traditional games can be played during the summer.

This museum is a typical European example of a local folk life or social history museum with its room sets and museologically traditional displays. The main interpretative means are reconstructed interiors and little use is made of other media. The emphasis is on crafts and working class life, seen from a local history perspective. Visitors might make their own associations and interpretations; however, folklore is dealt from a conventional perspective as something that is about the working past and not about the present.

4.3.3 Finland (N= 2)

Helsinki City Museum

The Helsinki City Council founded the Helsinki City Museum in 1911, after the Helsinki Board of Antiquities' proposal for the establishment of a city history museum. The basis for the museum collections was a large amount of photographs that were the product of a programme administered by the Helsinki Board of Antiquities to document contemporary Helsinki at a time of rapid change and industrialisation. The new museum would also house the historical artefacts of the Town Hall, an art collection, as well as contemporary objects gathered by the members of the Board of Antiquities themselves. In 1912 the museum acquired its own Board and its first director. During a long period it was hosted in the nineteenth century Hakasalmi Villa and recently, in 1995, it was removed to its present location in Sofiankatu Street (Picture 4.10).

The museum aims to record and present, through publications and exhibitions, the past and present, tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the city to both local and foreign visitors.

Picture 4.10 *The Helsinki City Museum in Sofiankatu Street © Helsinki City Museum*

Since its establishment it has been visitor orientated. In early 1970s, the museum collaborated with the University of Helsinki in an urban ethnology research and documentation project and extended its collecting policy to contemporary collecting with an emphasis on urban folklore and everyday life. The collections were therefore

significantly expanded and the subsequent space problem was resolved with the opening of extra exhibition sites around the city and the systematic organisation of temporary exhibitions. These new exhibition venues, although they can be visited on their own, play a complementary role to the main museum building in Sofiankatu Street and should be seen as a unity if a holistic approach to Helsinki past and present is to be gained.

Currently, the Helsinki City Museum comprises:

- The Street Museum is Sofiankatu Street itself and features reconstructed streetscapes typical of the early and late nineteenth century and up to 1930;
- The Hakasalmi Villa that houses a selection of works of art that document Helsinki and its dwellers throughout time;
- The Sederholm House, which is the oldest stone building in the city and houses various temporary exhibitions;
- The Burgher's House, which is the oldest wooden house in the city and presents the domestic life of a middle class family in the 1860s;
- The Worker Housing Museum which presents the way of life of Helsinki working-class twentieth century people;
- The Tuomarinkylä Museum which presents the way of life in a manor house;
- The Children's Museum;
- The Tram Museum which presents the history of the city's public transport;
- The Power Station Museum which is about the industrial heritage of the area;
- The School Museum, which narrates the history of elementary education in Helsinki.

The above museums provide visible historical evidence that covers the political, social, economic and cultural trends in the Helsinki area.

In the main museum in Sofiankatu Street the city's distinct character is interpreted and current urban life is documented through a variety of objects and contextual information. Although the exhibition is not very modern in terms of design the museum honestly attempts to engage varied interpretative techniques in order to create a fruitful and enjoyable experience for the visitors. For example, several films, which depict either past or modern Helsinki are on show daily. Also, the museum organises a variety of temporary exhibitions in which people from the local community are keenly

involved. In the exhibition *Reminiscences - Time - Emotion*, for instance, which was a trilogy of exhibitions held between 1993 and 2003, the recollections of local people were documented in order to depict an accurate image of the city. The same exhibition discussed other contemporary city life issues such as housing problems, immigration, demonstrations, current beliefs and cultural expressions. A variety of media were used to present such abstract themes in visual form. The focus was on all social classes. Thus, the way of life of the upper class was presented next to the way of living and thoughts of other sectors of Helsinki society. Besides, the exhibition included several folkloric elements, which had come to light effortlessly as part of people's demonstrating their daily activities and not by presenting them deliberately as folklore.

The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum

The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum (Picture 4.11) is situated in Turku, which is the oldest town in Finland. More precisely the museum is located in the old Cloister Quarter of the town, which existed in medieval times.

Picture 4.11 *Aspect of the Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum © Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum*

Picture 4.12 *Singing Christmas Carols © Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum*

The area has an interesting history. After a great fire in 1775, it was decided to transform it into a residential quarter and the first plots were measured out in the late eighteenth century. The first inhabitants, who were skilled in the craft of building, moved into Cloister Hill from the surrounding countryside. They initially built small dwellings, which were gradually enlarged as families and needs were growing. When Turku was destroyed by another fire in 1827 the dwellings of Cloister Hill remained

unscathed and although the new town plans expected them to be pulled down for safety reasons, this was luckily avoided thanks to the prudent thought of Axel Haartman, later curator of the Turku Art Museum. In an article he wrote in 1908 he expressed the view that the whole area constituted a ready made open-air museum (Sjöberg-Pietarinen 2000) and could be probably dealt with as such.

Indeed a decision about transforming the area into an open-air museum according to the model of Den Gamle By Museum in Denmark (Sjöberg-Pietarinen 2000, 9) was taken in 1937 and the new museum was inaugurated in 1940. This new museum, which was dedicated to handicrafts, differs from any other open-air museum in that the buildings were preserved exactly where they had been originally built. The decision about creating a handicrafts' museum was taken because of two reasons. On the one hand Turku was the centre of Finnish handicrafts since the beginning of eighteenth century and on the other, after the industrial revolution, craft tools and the equipment of craftsmen workshops had become more easily available.

Picture 4.13 *The working woman's house © Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum*

Picture 4.14 *Making cigarettes © Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum*

The transformation of the houses into craft workshops and house interiors of the early nineteenth century was made possible through extensive restoration, which removed all recent details from the buildings, as well as with the active involvement of local people and craftsmen. The later donated several objects to the museum in order to dress the house interiors and the small workshops. In some cases a workshop was fitted out by one master craftsman himself, while organised associations such as the Finnish Hairdressers' Association have also made significant donations. Especially in the case of craftsmen the collaboration was so strong that many of them continued to work and

demonstrate their skills in the museum as long as they lived. Moreover, it soon became customary to invite all the craftsmen once a year to the museum in order to take part in the special Handicrafts Day. This single day soon expanded to a whole week, which still takes place in the museum at the end of the summer. During this week a variety of occupations as well as different working methods are presented by local craftsmen. In addition to this annual event there are daily demonstrations of various crafts in summertime, while Christmas traditions are enacted during the festive season (Picture 4.12). From time to time there are also organised crafts seminars.

The museum includes a variety of workshops and home interiors. Amongst others the visitor can walk in the huckster's shop and bedroom; the barber's; the student's room; the shoemaker's home and workshop as well as an early twentieth century shoemaker's; the tobacco buildings; the violin maker's workshop; the coppersmith's quarters; the home of the sergeant's widow; the plank-carrier's home; the lithographic press; the post office; the cord-maker's workshop; the bakery; the seaman's house; the printing press; the cooper's workshop; the working woman's dwelling; the bricklayer's home; the basket-maker's workshop; the goldsmith's workshop; the bookbinder's; the tailor's; the painter's workshop; the carpenter's home; the carriage-maker's workshop; the tannery; the watchmaker's workshop; the glover's workshop. There are also a couple of houses, the Kanervo brothers' home and the working woman's dwelling, which were later additions to the museum as they were still in use by their owners until 1965 and 1982 respectively. In both cases the heirs of the dwellings decided to pass them to the museum on condition that they would be preserved untouched as museum interiors for future generations in order to show living conditions side to side with museum buildings. These additions of twentieth century working class homes in their original state might indicate a museological step forward in documenting history as the museum seeks to attempt to overcome the stereotype that folklife relates only to bygone eras. It is also interesting to note that the working woman's house (Picture 4.13) belonged to Hilma Mäenpää, who was an active member of the workers' movement, so the addition of her house in the museum might serve the twofold aim to represent working class life and to pay tribute to a local personality.

The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum is what its title suggests: a museum basically devoted to the presentation of crafts (Picture 4.14). By focusing on common handicrafts and by portraying a realistic picture of daily life it certainly satisfies the goals of folk life, which embraces a populist approach to history (Jones and Matelic 1987, 6). The

well documented recreation of workshops and house interiors together with craft demonstrations within historic contexts offers a good insight into folklore and provides enticing and creative visitors' experiences. This is particularly enhanced by the well-informed traditionally dressed interpreters, who are willing to answer questions and to discreetly engage the visitors. As it is common for folk museums this museum mainly concentrates on presenting crafts of days gone by. The interpreters wear traditional clothes and the general atmosphere evokes reminiscences and nostalgia for an era long past. However, there are still products made by hand and used in daily lives today, eg. beaded artworks, so it might have been more rewarding for visitors if they could also experience the on site-production of some modern handicrafts besides the demonstration of old ones. Moreover, the presentation of the development and evolution of nowadays-extinct crafts through other interpretative means such as video and photographs could offer a more well-rounded and multidimensional illustration.

In 1984, the Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum earned international recognition with the awarded Prize of the Golden Apple, given by the World Federation of Journalists and Travel Writers (FIJET) for an outstanding contribution to the development of tourism and the preservation of cultural monuments.

4.3.4 France (N= 1)

Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires

The National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions was founded in 1937 by Georges-Henri Rivière (1897-1985), in the Palace of Trocadéro. The idea of creating a museum which would also be a research centre for French ethnology had been expressed since the nineteenth century, however, it was not until the 1940s that this idea was refined and put into practice. In the France of that time popular arts and traditions had been separated from the general discipline of folklore and had formed a distinct scientific field. At the same time there was a turn of the French cultural policy towards public education. The ground was therefore fruitful for the establishment of a new museum. The French collections of the ethnographic museum of Trocadéro made up the core collections of the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions while the remaining

Trocadéro collections, which documented far away civilisations, constituted the core collections of Musée de l'Homme, the French Museum of Ethnography.

The new museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, the life work of Georges-Henri Rivière who several years later would invent with Hugues De Varine the concept of the ecomuseum (Davis 1999, 59), aimed to present an accurate picture of traditional rural France from the time of the French Revolution to the WWII. Rivière had dreamt of the new museum as a central and synthetic presentation of French culture and society (Rivière 1947) as detached from the other cultures around the world (Trochet 1995). Extensive research in the French countryside provided more objects and information about ways of life which had already vanished or were at risk of disappearance. This ethnographical research formed the academic background for the first permanent museum displays where the collections were exhibited according to a typological and evolutionary design model.

In 1966 the Research Centre of French Ethnology was officially founded and incorporated to the museum thus strengthening the links between collecting, exhibiting and researching, and emphasising the notion of "musée-laboratoire" that Rivière had vaunted as the most innovative, alas strongly colonialist, (Rabinow 1989; Wright 1991) institutional paradigm of the new museum.

Pictures 4.15-4.16 *The National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions at the purpose built building at the Bois de Boulogne*
© Olga Fakatseli

In 1969 a new purpose-built museum (Pictures 4.15-4.16) was erected at the edge of the Bois de Boulogne to house the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions. The construction of a purpose-built museum was an unprecedented event in France at the

time and might subsequently reflect the importance given to the new museum, which finally opened to the public in June 1975. Inspired by the ideas of Scandinavian open-air museums (Poulot 1994) Georges-Henri Rivière followed an innovative (at the time) museological approach for France, and re-displayed the collections by placing the objects into their historical context and by using new interpretative techniques. Up to today the permanent displays of the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions remain the same and are organised around four basic themes with several sub-categories as follows:

- Tools and techniques
  - ⇒ Hunting
  - ⇒ Fishing
  - ⇒ Cattle breeding, beekeeping, horse grooming
  - ⇒ From wheat to bread
  - ⇒ From vine to wine
  - ⇒ From threads to clothes
  - ⇒ From trees to houses
  - ⇒ The village blacksmith's workshop
  - ⇒ From earth to pottery
  - ⇒ Rural dwelling and traditional nutrition
  - ⇒ From stone-pit to building
  - ⇒ Transport
- Customs and Beliefs
  - ⇒ From cradle to tomb
  - ⇒ Feasts and festive celebrations
  - ⇒ Popular mythology
  - ⇒ Christian traditions
  - ⇒ Sorcery and divination
  - ⇒ Prevention and cure
- Institutions
  - ⇒ A rural habitat depicting cheese production
  - ⇒ Fairs and markets
  - ⇒ Village communities from region Châtillon-sur-Seine, north of Bourgogne, since the period of French Revolution

⇒ The family

⇒ A shepherd's dwelling of the Faucigny

⇒ Corporations

- Popular Arts

⇒ Games

⇒ Spectacles: circus, amusement parks, puppet show

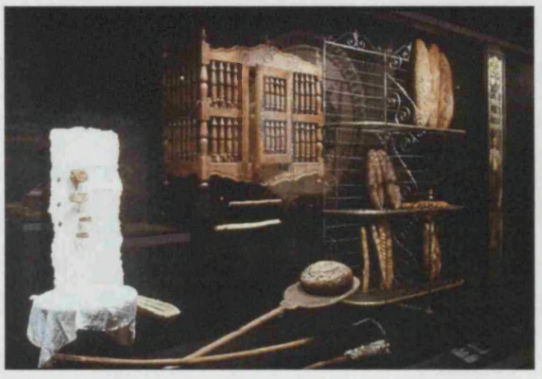
⇒ Literature

⇒ Dance

⇒ Music

⇒ Costume

⇒ Visual arts: decorative arts, graphic and plastic arts



Picture 4.17 *Show case featuring the process of making bread © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.18 *A rural living room © Olga Fakatseli*

Certainly the museographical approach of George-Henri Rivière was very innovative at the time of its conception. Equally the thematic showcases (Picture 4.17) that attempt to present in a sequence specific life or work processes by incorporating objects from around France used for the same purposes, as well as the various dioramas (Picture 4.18) supported by sound and music, which show rural habitats, were very imaginative. Nowadays nonetheless, the museum looks outdated and neglected. The uninspiring lighting as well as the dirty showcases also support this view. Moreover, some of the labels – in French language only - are worn out while others are difficult for the visitor to read as they are placed either too high or too low. Audiovisuals, when functional, are very informative but often audio from one source mingle with audio from another medium and the result was confusing and distracted. Most important however, is the fact that the exhibitions seem to ignore personal stories despite their careful research

and collection by the museum researchers. In contrast they remain stuck to a lifeless display of objects (Sherman 2004, 699).

In contrast to the temporary exhibitions, which by focusing on contemporary issues are usually very successful, the permanent displays of the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions have fallen into obvious decay. This is also clear from the decline in visitors' numbers and researchers' interest, as the audience research conducted by the museum during the last couples of years reveals. Besides, according to Join Dieterle's view, Director of Musée de la Mode in Paris: "the French are no longer interested in folk life and folklore, which is considered rather old fashioned and out dated" (Dieterle 2004). It is also interesting to note that in France the terms associated with folklore are avoided. Museums that could be considered folkloric are now called museums of society, ecomuseums, history museums or even archaeology museums (Colardelle 2004). All these observations together with the museum-reproduced false image of folklore as something old dead and exclusively rural, (Pictures 4.17-4.18) would have been enough to classify the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions amongst the most conventional folk life European museums. However, this is not the case for the life work museum of George-Henri Rivière.

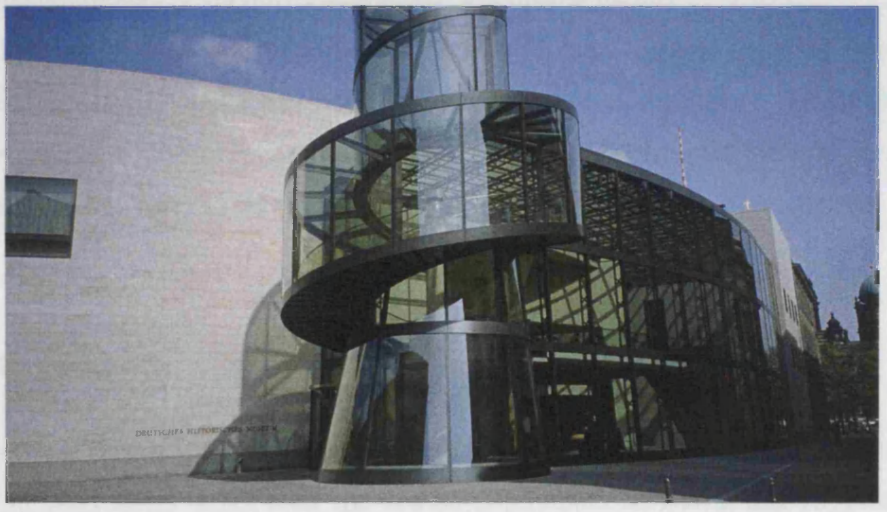
Thus, in the light of the current perceptions and judgements the museum of Popular Arts and Traditions decided to entirely reorganise itself. Michel Colardelle, the Director of the museum, was very enlightening, when in our discussion in March 2004, he explained the necessity for the museum to widen its horizons to new audiences and to re invent itself as a modern museum which adopts the challenges of contemporary folklore theory. This new museum, the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée, won't be concentrated on traditional agricultural France but will encompass European and Mediterranean cultures in order to respond to the new reality of the European Union and to show interrelations, influences, similarities and differences amongst European civilisations (Colardelle, Chevallier et al. 2002; Colardelle 2003, 232). The new institution, which is a major cultural project supported by the European Community, will follow a multidisciplinary approach towards human history. It aims to be people orientated with a special focus not only on rural life but also on the interpretation of the contemporary preoccupations of urban industrialised European environments. Similarly, it is expected to reinforce folk collective memories through a variety of cultural activities and the folklore processes of diverse communities.

Until 2008, when the new museum will open to the public, visitors should content themselves with the Paris Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions. However, the fact that a major folk museum has decided to restructure itself from its foundations by adopting modern folklore perspectives and by playing a more dynamic social role might indicate a new way forward for other more conventional folklore museums and might initiate a gradual change in how we should appreciate and understand folklore.

4.3.5 Germany (N= 4)

The German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum)

The German Historical Museum in Berlin was founded in 1987 by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Land Berlin after a long period of debates about the importance of the establishment of a national historical museum.



Picture 4.19 *The German Historical Museum annex for the temporary exhibitions designed by I.M. Pei © Olga Fakatseli*

After the reunification of Germany in 1990 the museum was significantly enlarged by the acquisition of the collections of the Museum for German History of East Berlin, housed until then in the Zeughaus one of the most beautiful baroque buildings of the capital. Originally, a new building was going to be built for the German Historical Museum but after the new historical developments it was decided that the Zeughaus should go under extensive restoration and permanently house the displays of the new

museum. A new building (Picture 4.19) designed by the world famous architect Ieoh Ming Pei was also erected nearby and architecturally linked to Zeughaus in order to house the museum's temporary exhibitions.

The German Historical Museum aims to provide German people with a better understanding of their German and European identity through displays which will attempt to present political, social, and economic history from both a regional and a European perspective. As Professor Rosmarie Beier de Haan, head of the collections, stated during our discussion in April 2004 the displays will be arranged into *period rooms* which will present German history from ancient up to present times, *intensive information rooms* which will provide a deeper insight of the topics presented and *topic rooms* which will focus on issues of everyday life and social history. Professor Beier de Haan also asserted the view that in Germany they have discarded the terms folklore/folk life in favour of other terms such as social anthropology, everyday life and ethnography.

The German Historical Museum has extensive collections of everyday life which are divided in three categories: Everyday Life Culture I which includes medical and household equipment, Everyday Life Culture II focusing mainly on textiles and clothing and badges and Everyday Life Culture III which is constituted of toys and postcards. Whether everyday life and social issues will be actively and intelligently incorporated in the displays of the new museum remains to be seen in 2006 when the German Historical Museum opens its gates to the public.

Jewish Museum Berlin

The Jewish Museum in Berlin, a public institution funded by the federal government, opened in 2001 thirty years after the Jewish community of Berlin had suggested the establishment of a Jewish museum, which would house the Jewish collections of the Berlin Museum and would chronicle German Jewish history over the centuries. Actually, a first Jewish museum had been founded in Berlin in 1933 as an act of resistance to Hitler's rising regime but was plundered and closed by the Nazis during the Kristallnacht (Crystal Night) in 1938.

In 1988-9 an international architectural competition was held and Daniel Libeskind's innovative design was elected for the new museum. The unusual museum building (Picture 4.20), ready almost ten years later, with its zigzag ground plan which represents

an abstract interpretation of the Star of David is a work of art worth visiting for its own sake. The rich symbolism of the interior of the building with its three intersecting axis, the Axis of Exile, the Axis of the Holocaust and the Axis of Continuity, a metaphor for Jewish life during the twentieth century, exerts a strong impact on visitors' senses and feelings as observed by the large numbers of paying visitors (350,000) (Pes 2002) between January 1999 and January 2001, when the museum was still empty.

Picture 4.20 *The Jewish Museum in Berlin © Jewish Museum*

Picture 4.21 *The entrance to the permanent gallery featuring a pomegranate tree, fertility symbol in the Jewish faith, with small audio-visual monitors as its fruits © Olga Fakatseli*

The permanent displays (Picture 4.21), which are spread over two floors, celebrate the achievements and life of German Jews in an intelligent and stylish way and definitely beyond the narrow context of twelve years of Nazism. The idea was to create a museum which would shape the Jewish past through a pluralist approach within the specific geographic, social and political space of Germany instead of founding another holocaust memorial which would perhaps reinforce a prevailing image of Jews as victims and would sustain a monolithic image of the Jewish past. This, however, by no means suggests that the museum underestimates the significance of the holocaust.

Early history, the development of new social structures of traders and financers out of the first rural communities, Jewish life and traditions, the Jewish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the contributions of Jews in the modern world, the Jewish response to National Socialism, women in Judaism are just some of a vast majority of subjects that are presented chronologically in the permanent displays in order to provide a comprehensive history of the German Jewish community from its beginnings in the Middle Ages through to the present. Collections of Judaica, everyday and ceremonial

objects, films and photographs, manuscripts and art together with oral histories, bilingual (German and English) panels and labels, advanced technological devices and interactive displays are all bound together to engage visitors in order to explore the story of Jewish German history and everyday life.

This is a narrative, people-centred museum which was included in this study because it is an outstanding example of the way in which folklore can be naturally integrated into displays and so help towards a holistic understanding of a community. Religious faith and folk traditions have always played a strong role in shaping Jewish past and present. The Jewish Museum in Berlin has interpreted folklore as an alive element of Jewish culture, which is at the heart of the formation of Jewish identity. The past is presented both as bound up with the present and as separated from it and traditions are seen as continuing threads that evolve over time to follow contemporary life style and new conditions. These changes are documented by the museum in a thought provoking way that helps visitors to understand how Jews perceive themselves and their world.

The Jewish Museum in Berlin has considered folklore as an integral and intimate part of Jewish life and by interpreting it as such it offers its visitors an excellent insight into Jewish community living and culture.

Moreover, a great variety of events from guided tours to temporary exhibitions, talks and workshops illuminate Jewish history further and justify the museum's reputation as a modern and lively institution, a focal attraction in Berlin's life.

Museum of European Cultures (Museum Europäischer Kulturen)

The Museum of European Cultures (Picture 4.22) was founded in June 1999 out of the merger of the collections of the Museum of Folklore (Museum für Volkskunde) and the European holdings of the Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde). The two museums had often been related since their establishment. A first association took place in 1904 when the first Museum of German Folkloric Costumes and Crafts (Museum für Volkstrachten und Erzeugnisse des Hausgewerbes), founded in 1889, was incorporated into the Museum of Ethnology. However, up to 1934 the collections were separated again so that those with a German origin formed the independent National Museum of German Folklore (Staatliches Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde) and those with a

foreign origin continued to be part of the Museum of Ethnology. During WWII eighty percent of the collections were destroyed and after Germany's division two separate museums were formed, one in East Berlin where folklore and ethnology were combined in one museum and another one in West Berlin where folklore was under the auspices of the Ethnology museum until 1963, when it became again independent. In 1992 after the reunification of Germany the collections in East and West Berlin were united to form the Museum of Folklore. The close cooperation between the museum of Folklore and the department of European collections of the museum of Ethnology as well as the common vision for a museum with a European emphasis led to the new museum of European cultures.

Picture 4.22 *The Museum of European Cultures © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.23 *Aspect of the exhibition featuring a movie theatre at the beginning of the century © Olga Fakatseli*

The fact that the museum is the result of the accumulation of folklore and European ethnographical collections may indicate how folklore is perceived in Germany. As Dr Elisabeth Tietmeyer, curator of the Museum of European Cultures, has stated the museum sees folklore from the perspective of the everyday culture of all people, past and present, rural and urban. Subsequently the comparative study of the aesthetics and values of folklore around Europe through the activities of the new museum will help a better appreciation and understanding of otherness and self, in other words of European cultural diversity.

Besides, this is the museum's aim: to highlight the diverse facets of the cultural heritage of European peoples and countries, to trace commonalities and to specify regional and national characteristics. This aim prevails in the museum collecting activities, research projects and exhibitions. For example the first exhibition (Picture 4.23) which opened on 25th June 1999 and will last until January 1st 2010 is entitled *Cultural Contacts in*

Europe: the Fascination of Pictures and explores the influence of images in European cultures as well as the similarities and differences in the use of pictures amongst European peoples. Although the exhibition might not obviously imply anything folkloric in the conventional sense of the term it could be argued that it has a strong folklore interest as images which pervade in everyday popular culture could be seen as excellent documentators of folklore, traditional culture and visual anthropology. They can also be, themselves, manifestations of folklore either in the form of depicting recurring motifs and themes in various forms of material culture from clothes to pottery or in the strong symbolism they bear as in the obvious example of religious images. Images also play a significant role in the social construction of self and this is also investigated in the exhibition. The comparative perspective, which is attempted in the exhibition, permits us to glimpse something of the transformation that takes place when images cross social or cultural boundaries. Printed and engraved pictures, painted furniture, magic lanterns, camera obscura, and many more, including film and digital images are displayed and interpreted with panels, labels, objects captions, audiovisuals and videos. It would have been more thoughtful however, if there was more information in English for the European visitor – apart from the basic panels, which were trilingual (German, English, French) all the other information was only in the German language.

The Museum of European Cultures in Berlin is the first museum of this kind in Europe with its French counterpart the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée following in 2008.

Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg

This is a small municipal museum (Heimatmuseum-Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf 2005) at the centre of Charlottenburg, one of the core districts of Berlin. The museum (Picture 4.24) was founded in 1987 in order to engage Berlin residents' interest in their regional culture and history. It aims to promote local history through several temporary displays and since its foundation it has organised more than ninety exhibitions. Topics include issues from everyday life, women's history, local customs and traditions and a variety of other subjects. The collection includes a variety of articles regarding everyday life, historical photos and postcards.

At the time of the visit (April 2004), the museum had an exhibition about the different ways various cultures celebrate Easter (Picture 4.25). Although the display was not anything exceptional from the point of view of design and interpretation – there were only panels and labels - the exhibition was an honest attempt to involve people from local communities in order to depict aspects of their way of life. Easter celebration with the multitude of customs and traditions that surround it has certainly a deep folkloric character. However, there was nowhere any mention of the world folk, folklore, etc. This might be attributed to the fact that in Germany the term folk life and folklore are rarely used because of the negative associations that the terms acquired after their manipulation by the Nazis. Instead, the term used to denote that same area of interest is everyday life (Tietmeyer 2004). It is also interesting to note that the above exhibition focused on present ways of celebrating Easter rather than old traditions followed in the distant past. This close relationship of heimatmuseums with the present was anyway one of the crucial ideas upon which the heimatmuseum movement was based (Klersch 1936).

Picture 4.24 *Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg © Olga Fakatseli*

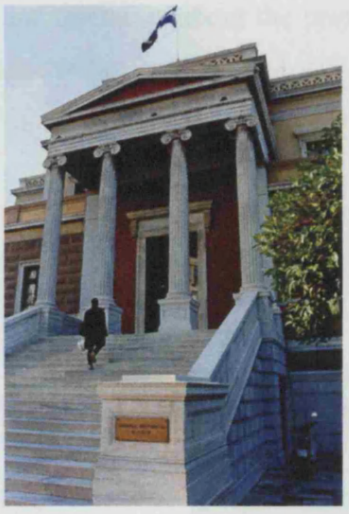
Picture 4.25 *View of the exhibition about Easter Celebrations © Olga Fakatseli*

Although heimatmuseums had been associated with racist connotations as a result of their exploitation by the Nazi regime (Crus-Ramirez 1985; Clair 1992) lately they have redefined their role and have re invented themselves as dynamic organisations that promote local culture and identity through the active involvement and lively co-operation of local people (Hauenschild 1989).

4.3.6 Greece (N= 3)

National Historical Museum/Folk Life Galleries

The National Historical Museum (Picture 4.26) belongs to the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, a private organization, which was founded in 1882 by prominent Greek personalities in literature and the arts. It is centrally located in the Old Parliament Building and it is easily accessible by public transport.



Picture 4.26 *The National Historical Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.27 *A Gallery devoted to the sea battle during the Greek War of Independence, 1821 © Olga Fakatseli*

From its establishment the Society's main aim was to collect, preserve and display material and documentary evidence related to modern Greek history. Therefore, its museum, which is the oldest historical museum in Greece, includes a wide variety of collections that highlight the most representative phases of Neo-Hellenism, from the fall of Constantinople (15th century) onwards. The twentieth century however, is hardly documented in the collections and the museum's current collecting activity is mainly frozen on the nineteenth century. Such a policy encapsulates the museum's approach towards history, which is acknowledged as something which is more about the more uncontested distant past rather than the more recent and still remembered one. Accordingly the museum displays concentrate on the presentation of important historical figures and significant events of Greek 19th century political history. It seems that the museum has embraced the conservative notion of history museum practice where the simple position or juxtaposition of some objects in the galleries is taken to be a sufficient interpretative medium (Picture 4.27) (Kavanagh 1996, xii). Consequently

the museum fails to engage its visitors by interweaving official history with personal memories, insights, and life experiences.

The displays are arranged in a broad chronological sequence along a route dictated by the layout of the rooms into which they have been fitted. Undoubtedly the building presents all the problems of spaces not initially designed for museum purposes, but this does not justify a display indicative of historical cabinet of curiosity practice that does not help visitors to create their own interpretative models. Indeed, the majority of objects must look to most visitors as if they are randomly assembled while the minimal textual interpretation about the presented historical period presupposes the background knowledge of the visitors.

Picture 4.28 *A folk life gallery © Olga Fakatseli*

Even the galleries devoted to Greek folk culture of the 18th and 19th centuries (Picture 4.28), which could provide a considerable potential for more stimulating displays about everyday life of both well-known and ordinary people in important historical periods of the past, have been designed outside a broad socioeconomic platform on which to entwine academic history with people's lives. The emphasis in these galleries is on traditional costumes, some belonging to historical personalities of the past. The costumes as well as the accompanying jewellery and embroidery are displayed systematically according to their typological style in an arrangement that stresses the evolution of Greek traditional costume as art work, serving rather the aims of a fashion museum instead of an historical one which could be expected to highlight connections with the people behind the symbolically rich objects. The absence of interpretative

media such as slide displays, video, audiovisual programmes or interactive techniques is noticeable in these galleries, in particular if one takes into consideration that some of the displayed clothes were still worn in Greek villages up to 1950 and so could be shown on film. Thus, recorded first hand information commenting on personal experiences might have been an interesting and exciting interpretive approach. Moreover, the robust emphasis on traditional "best" costumes instead of the presentation of a more diverse collection of items shown from a social history perspective, arguably leads visitors to a false and distorted appreciation of folklore.

Overall, the National Historical Museum fails to communicate history and folklore in a modern informative manner which could reveal the social significance of its collections by moving the emphasis from objects to people and use so stimulating pleasurable experiences, self-realisation and learning in today's Greek visitors.

The Benaki Museum

The Benaki Museum was founded in 1930 by Antonis Benakis, who was one of the greatest collectors and benefactors of Greece.

The museum occupies one of the most beautiful neo-classical buildings (Picture 4.29) of the historic centre of Athens and it's close to other cultural institutions such as the Museum of Cycladic Art, the War Museum and the Byzantine Museum of Athens. During the last two decades, in an attempt at decentralisation, the museum decided to divide anew its collections and to relocate them in other museum buildings in the suburbs of the capital. Thus, two new branches, the cultural centre of the Benaki museum in Pireos Street and the Museum of Islamic Art have opened to the public since the summer 2004.

The neoclassical mansion, which remains the focal point of the organization itself underwent a major restoration programme and re-opened to the public in 2000.

This main museum building houses the Greek collections, which comprise objects, photographs and archival documents that cover a chronological period from antiquity to the disaster of Asia Minor in 1922 when the Turks displaced the Greek population from Asia Minor. The permanent displays are divided over three floors and are organized chronologically: antiquity and the Byzantine period are presented on the ground floor;

secular and ecclesiastical art on the first floor; daily and intellectual life on the second floor; and the Greek War of Independence and the first years of the newly born independent state on the third floor.

Picture 4.29 *The main building of the Benaki museum © Olga Fakatseli*

The galleries are modern looking and the design is stylish and costly, albeit the interpretation is traditional, so causing the so much-anticipated opening of the museum to fall short of expectations.

The aim of the museum is to provide visitors with an "accurate" picture of the historical development of Greece. As usual the twentieth century and contemporary life are not mentioned at all, it is as if they are not in the direct interest of the museum. Moreover, the emphasis is entirely on objects, which, regardless of their social or other significance, are presented as works of art. This impression is especially reinforced in the galleries devoted to secular art of the 17^{th}-19^{th} centuries (Picture 4.30). These galleries host the previously named folklore collection, which comprises traditional Greek costumes, jewellery, embroidery, furniture and various objects of everyday life. Because of the museum's view that the term folklore is old-fashioned and outdated the collection was renamed for the re-opening of the museum as the collection of neo-Hellenic art. The emphasis therefore, is on the artistic value of these objects although in their majority they were not created as art but were the products of practical needs. The aesthetic emphasis, however, and the deliberate suppression of the other life messages that these objects carry, create potential misunderstandings not only about the objects themselves but also about visitors' possible perceptions of folklore in general. Thus, in

this location folklore might be reasonably thought of as something limited to past and dated material culture which is precious for its artistic sake and not for the links it might provide with the ancestral society that created it. In the light of this attitude no priority at all is given to the exploration of the way of life of the people behind the objects. Besides, there are too many objects displayed in the sleek and modern window cases for a possible narrative to be created around them. It seems that the museum has given little thought to what different visitors might need and how much material they can comprehend.

Not surprisingly the same attitude is reflected in the galleries which claim to present daily life. Again, the traditional narrative prevails with some high class room sets, such as the interior of the reception room of Georgios Voulgaris' (Hydra's Governor between 1802-1812) mansion in 1800's Hydra, topographical paintings and objects displayed isolated from their socioeconomic surroundings. There is no variety in interpretative media, which is restricted to minimal textual documentation. This results in a soulless and sometimes fragmented image of the past based on a collection of "things" rather than a thought provoking conceptualization of it that would celebrate life and culture through a more active visitors' experience.

Picture 4.30 *Aspects of the galleries depicting secular Neo Hellenic art of the 17th-19th c. © Olga Fakatseli*

The permanent displays of the Benaki museum are therefore dry, object centred and academically elitist and fail to support and strengthen people's historical awareness by creating deep links between objects, people and historical information.

The museum however, is very active in organising several temporary exhibitions on aesthetic platforms while it has a variety of educational programmes for children and adults alike.

Museum of Greek Folk Art

The Museum of Greek Folk Art (Picture 4.31) as its name suggests is devoted to the presentation of the popular artistic production of Greece that spans from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. It is a national museum that was founded in 1918 under the name of the Museum of Greek Handicrafts. In 1923 it was renamed to National Museum of Decorative Arts and in 1959 it took its present name. Until 1973 it was housed in the Tzami in Monastiraki square, which now houses the V. Kyriazopoulos collection of pottery. In 1973 it moved to the purpose built building at Kydathinaion Street in Plaka, one of the most touristic area of Athens. In the same area of Plaka there are also two museum annexes: the first houses the only Athenian public bath preserved up to day, known as the "Baths of Athena", and the second an exhibition about the working life in the pre-industrial era.

Picture 4.31 *The façade of the Museum of Greek Folk Art © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.32 *An aspect of the permanent display of costumes © Olga Fakatseli*

The main museum has extensive collections of traditional costumes, jewellery, embroidery, silver and metalwork, pottery, popular theatre, folk painting, wood and stone carving. The museum's role, as stated in the 2004-2005's leaflet about the

museum educational activities, is the collection, study, research, conservation, exhibition and promotion of the material evidence of the Modern Greek folk culture, which has been defined as the Neo-Hellenic folk art of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, placing strict boundaries in time on Modern Greek folk culture raises some obvious questions. On the one hand it ignores contemporary folk art production and on the other it creates a false image of folklore in people's minds that it is something that has nothing to do with the present and the modern way of life. Old folkways may have disappeared but new folklore is created and a museum needs to be open-minded and flexible enough in order to include it in its current activities. A good model of a folk art museum that has extended both its collection and exhibitions policies to incorporate the works of contemporary self-taught artists in a variety of media has been the American Museum of Folk Art. The Museum of Greek Folk Art seems to be closed to modern folk art and as a result it cannot avoid reproducing stereotyped folklore images.

Picture 4.33 *A panel showing how the displayed costumes are worn © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.34 *Aspects from a temporary exhibition © Olga Fakatseli*

Leaving behind the dominant Greek ideology about folk art and moving on to discuss the actual displays (Picture 4.32) of the Museum of Greek Folk Art I would say that they are mainly didactic. The collections have been systematically arranged, so embroidery is displayed on the ground floor; shadow theatre, disguise costumes, wood-carving, metalwork and ceramics on the mezzanine floor; popular painting and temporary exhibitions on the first floor; silverware on the second floor; and costumes and stone carving on the third floor. The presentations are traditional without a supporting narrative for the visitor to follow which would make the visit more enjoyable. They have a strong emphasis on the didactic, instructional role of the museum. The panels and labels are bilingual - Greek and English – and they have extensive textual and illustrative information. For example in the case of costumes and

jewellery exact information is given about how each particular garment or each jewel used to be worn (Picture 4.33). It would have been more pleasurable however if there were discovery activities for example, video clips showing the procedure of dressing up or copies for the visitors to try on instead just relying on the written information. Nevertheless, at the entrance of each gallery there is a slide show operated by the warden on visitors' request.

The museum organises educational activities for a variety of audiences as well as temporary exhibitions about traditional ways of life. At the time of the visit the exhibition *Olympos Karpathos – Ethnographic Pictures of Today* was on show (Picture 4.34). The exhibition attempted to give an accurate and complete image of life in the village of Olympos on Karpathos island, presenting issues such as place and architecture, inheritance law, social structure, traditional costumes and social events. The design of the exhibition was more stylish and modern than the permanent displays while audio and visual material was also engaged. The aim of the exhibition was to promote a living culture. Nonetheless, the information given in the panels was mainly about the past with just minor references to the present.

More significant however, is the fact that the museum's tendency, in presenting in its temporary exhibitions cultures that are in a way remnants of a distinct past, reveals its core value that tradition and folklore are static and outdated and not dynamic and evolving as modern theoretical perspectives suggest.

4.3.7 Luxembourg (N= 2)

National Museum of History and Art, Section of Decorative and Popular Arts

Like many cultural institutions, the National Museum of History and Art of Luxembourg owes its existence to the enthusiasm of some passionate historians and archaeologists of the past, who as early as 1845 realised the urge to preserve the historic and artistic testimonies of their country and consequently founded the *Society for the research and the conservation of the historic monuments of Luxembourg.* The later renamed *Archaeological Society* cared, in its first steps, for a collection of antiquities, which was to be substantially enriched in the following years. The first museum had mainly archaeological and natural history collections and opened its doors to the public

on the Eve of the Second World War in the house Collart de Scherff which constitutes the old building of today's museum.

During the following years, the collection was further enlarged by both purchases and donations and from 1958, a collection of modern art was created. During the sixties the museum was further expanded with the acquisition of neighbouring patrician houses. This progressive expansion reached its peak with the construction of the modern new building in the heart of the open space of Marché-aux-Poissons, close to the large pedestrian squares Place d' Armes and Place Guillaume, which constitute the central and most lively part of the old town of Luxemburg. Indeed when arriving at the museum one is quite impressed by the huge façade that covers almost a side of the Marché aux Poissons square .

The National Museum of History and Art at present consists of the old building, the new one (Picture 4.35) and the nearby aristocratic houses which have been incorporated into the exhibition space. More specifically, the museum is defined by an ensemble of three underground levels under the Marché aux Poissons square with the new over ground building with the imposing entrance facing the square. A central atrium with stairways and glass elevators is the connection point between the new building and the old one, which is only partially in use. From the level 1 of the old building, one gains access to the section of the decorative and popular arts housed in the Wiltheim street patrician houses.

Picture 4.35 *The façade of the National Museum of History and Art in Luxembourg © Olga Fakatseli*

One starts the visit from the lower level –5 where one can lose oneself in the prehistory of Luxembourg and then visitors move into the following eras represented in chronological order on the next floors: protohistory, gallo-roman period, middle ages to finally reach the upper level where modern fine arts are presented.

The exploration of history from the bottom up is brilliant. In fact once entered in the museum you are amazed by the architecture of the building that moves you through the history of Luxembourg through different levels which are in visual connection with each other across the Atrium. The ancient history of Luxembourg is presented through a variety of modern exhibition techniques, colourful panels and computers that both inform and delight the senses.

However, on entering the section of decorative and popular arts, which was the main focus of this review, the initial impression of innovation was gradually reversed.

The display of decorative arts and popular traditions was enabled thanks to the acquisition of the old noble houses, which were restored and now house diverse collections of 16th to 20th century everyday and working life of various social classes. The architecture of the houses that undoubtedly presents all the problems of spaces not initially designed for museum purposes, actually dictated the type of display. As Jean-Luc Mousset, curator of the exhibition, stressed during our discussion what was thought important in designing the exhibition was the achievement of an obvious chronological and thematic concordance in the subject areas presented in each room. The displays have been organised with three issues in mind: the representation of everyday life of all social classes including professions and popular beliefs; the display of aesthetically valuable objects of the collections of furniture, ceramics, silverwork, glasswork etc.; and the display of the general history of the country mainly through paintings and objects belonging to important personages.

There is no denying that the idea of integrating urban listed dwellings in the exhibition is positive however the above incorporation fails to be a successful one. One could say that the small staircase that visitors climb to find themselves into the department of decorative and popular arts is the transmission point from a modern contemporary museum environment to an old parochial museum display (Pictures 4.36-4.37). The excited anticipation of being in an original house, despite the relaxed and informal atmosphere, turns to confusion resulting from a total lack of orientation. There is no straightforward physical flow in the houses. I ended up having missed several rooms

and being incapable of backtracking to them while even in the flyer of the museum ground plan the section is just mentioned and not shown.

Pictures 4.36-4.37 *Galleries from the Section of Decorative and Popular Arts © Olga Fakatseli*

Although there is an honest attempt to represent the social life of past eras the exhibition seems to be rather fragmented with no story line to follow. The visitor experiences a variety of past domestic interiors which are displayed without an obvious logical sequence and with minimal taxonomic information limited to the kind of the interior represented e.g. "kitchen", and the "kitchen equipment and tableware of 16th and 17th centuries". The panels with information about the architecture of each patrician house with their ground plans and basic information about the owners can easily be missed since there is more than one entrance to the houses and the panels are only placed in one of them. I would like to have known more about the houses themselves and how life was organised in them.

The exhibition is clearly object orientated and, although there is the idea to present folk beliefs of the people instead of household objects alone, these are represented in an "itemised", objectified form, isolated from their social environment; as a result it was difficult to grasp the role that they played in people's everyday activities. The subject areas of industrialisation, professions, and the eating habits of people from the 16th to 20th centuries are again seen from an object focused perspective failing to offer a more holistic approach. It would have been more useful to have had a more contextualised and detailed explanation of the collection as well as more information about the artefacts on display.

The intriguing idea of the parallel depiction of rural and bourgeois everyday life in the recent past, instead of being thought provoking by highlighting controversial differences and similarities, resulted in a fossilised illustration of past life with no correlations at all

with the present. This doesn't allow visitors to experience the relevant social context. The interesting, though perhaps unintentional, juxtaposition of a rural bedroom of eighteenth to the first half of nineteenth century next to a bourgeois one of the first half of the nineteenth century could have been more successful if it was interpreted in a more vivid and comparative way. I would have liked the museum to present oral testimonies where possible along with everyday objects and to tell stories about the people who used the artefacts presented. Listening posts with reminiscences would enliven the rooms devoted to the representation of recent past and make the visit much more enjoyable.

What I found more frustrating however is that the visitor leaves the section of decorative and popular arts with the impression that this department has been less cared for in relation to the rest of the museum. If there had been separate entrance one might have easily taken it for a separate museum in itself. Such a realisation wakens suspicious thoughts about the biased way that daily life in the recent past is represented in some museums of today; often a simply put on display of some furniture and agricultural tools or household items is considered an appropriate exhibition concept. A fresher impetus that would involve people's experiences would give a more convincing image of life in the past and would break the barriers of static and unsophisticated representations.

Museum of the History of the city of Luxembourg

The Museum of History of the city of Luxembourg (Picture 4.38) is a municipal museum, founded twenty years ago, with the twofold aim to make the history of the city of Luxembourg well known to the Luxemburgers and to give tourists a better understanding of the socioeconomic development of the Grand-Duché of Luxembourg with a special focus on its European aspects.

The museum is located in the touristic area of Luxembourg in the heart of the old town, close to the National Museum of History and Art.

Four bourgeois houses of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were restored to a high standard and create an interesting old and modern architectural ensemble that houses the museum. The museum comprises two parts: three underground floors, which

host the permanent displays and three above ground storeys that house temporary exhibitions.

The permanent displays explore the urban, political and cultural development of the city of Luxembourg from the 10th century AD to modern times. The financial, political, military and religious history of the capital is unfolded through a great variety of artworks and historic relics around six architectural models which show the city during important historical periods of the past. A selection of modern communicative techniques which range from bilingual French/German written panels (Picture 4.39) and object labels to advanced multimedia stations (Picture 4.40) located in various points in the museum are employed in order to make Luxembourgian history more accessible to visitors. The personalised interactive multimedia system, in particular, appears to be extremely successful, as the majority of visitors on my visit seemed to be interested in enjoyably discovering the eventful history of the city as reflected in a vast amount of digitised authentic documents and animated audio-visual sequences. Moreover, video clips showing a timeline of the various sites before the construction of the modern city, as well as aspects of present day life are also located close to each architectural model providing visitors with an excellent resource for comparing past with present physicality and so supporting the concept of the evolution of the city as an important European financial centre.

Picture 4.38 *The museum facade© Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.39 *A panel* © Olga Fakatseli

Picture 4.40 *A typical gallery of permanent displays © Olga Fakatseli*

What is missing from this modern interpretation of the history of Luxembourg is the past seen from a low key, everyday life, social history perspective. Such an omission may be of prime importance as it does not leave any room for the creation of personal

perspectives and experiences from the visitors' point of view and seems not to recognise the significance of ordinary people's views in the creation of history. What is more striking, nonetheless, is that this exclusion is a conscious choice made at the time of the museum's establishment. As stated by the museum's Director when interviewing her, there was a reaction from upper class citizens against presenting the life of working class people in the museum devoted to the history of their city. In particular, daily life was considered not so important as to be included in a history museum. Even though no large-scale survey that would further investigate a wider range of citizens' opinions on this topic was conducted it was decided that social history themes should be reserved for temporary exhibitions. Exhibitions such as *Be Clean...! A History of Hygiene and Public Health in Europe*, *Athénée de Luxembourg – 400 Years of School Life*, *Ten Questions about Luxembourg and the Second World War* attempt to bridge the social history gap. This option however is not always a progressive alternative as on the one hand there are periods when no temporary exhibitions are mounted and on the other hand visitors to the permanent displays never get a holistic image of their city's historic past. This museum is another example of controversial or contested themes being allocated to temporary exhibitions where controversy and "problems" have a necessarily short life so the museum appears at the same time to be progressive while remaining fundamentally conservative.

4.3.8 The Netherlands (N= 4)

The Volendam Museum

The Volendam museum (Picture 4.41) is a municipal museum in the fishing village of Volendam. As early as 1967 some local residents, who had developed a passion for collecting things of the recent past, decided to create a local history museum for Volendam and its people.

The museum aims to present the life and work of Volendam's people from 1850 to 1950 and the local community is the main target audience. In order to keep the community's interest active the museum renews a part of its displays annually by selecting its subjects from a variety of themes. For example, at the time of the visit (September 2004) the subject was transport, the previous year the exhibition was about catholic life, and in 2005 it was about local festivities.

Picture 4.41 *The façade of the Volendam Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.42 *A diorama featuring a house interior © Olga Fakatseli*

The museum collections include several paintings by local artists, a large number of traditional male, female and children's costumes, objects of daily and maritime life, tools, model ships, and many other objects of local interest.

The displays were not highly designed (Picture 4.42) and the interpretation means were rather poor. There were no labels but leaflets with information in Dutch and English language about the exhibit and the objects presented. A couple of dioramas showed how life in a typical Volendam house would have been in two different time spans while another presented a typical cheese shop furnished entirely with machinery, tools and objects donated by the owners of an authentic Volendam cheese shop. There was also a cinema room where a short movie about transportation in olden times was projected with Dutch language sound only. Moreover, visitors could touch the majority of the objects. In many cases objects and situations were easily identifiable with local visitors' personal items and experiences.

Certainly the display of the Volendam museum is somewhat traditional but this is rather normal when one takes into consideration that the museum relies heavily on local volunteers and support for its existence (Kruk 2004).

The Volendam museum is a typical local history museum, which despite the honest attempt to present local history does not avoid the mistake of concentrating on the past at detriment of the present.

The Zaans Museum

The Zaans Museum is a cultural history museum, which was founded in 1986 in order to document local life in Zaandam through the relations of people with the surrounding environment and developing industry. The museum is housed in an acclaimed purpose built building (Picture 4.43) which is harmoniously incorporated in the surrounding environment. It is situated in Zaanse Schans, a residential neighbourhood with houses and windmills from the 17th and 18th centuries, one indeed of the top touristic destinations in the Netherlands.

Picture 4.43 *The purpose built building of Zaans Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.44 *An aspect of the permanent display indicative of the design methods employed © Olga Fakatseli*

The museum, as the introductory panel suggests, has been designed as a factory and the displays are arranged around four main subjects: life, work, wind and water, which are considered to have had a strong impact upon the character of the Zaans region. Regional costumes, christening clothes, religious items, paintings, objects of everyday life, product packaging and a variety of industrial items and machinery attempt to evoke for visitors Dutch nostalgia and memories of the past. A mix of bilingual panels (in Dutch and English language), labels, music, oral history posts and videos in Dutch as well as slide shows serve as the basic interpretative means. However, despite the modern interpretative techniques the exhibition lacks a coherent narrative that would tell the story of Zaans in a more interesting way. The collections are displayed in an open-storage format (Picture 4.44 above) without any aesthetic principle let alone care about the objects – in some cases the labels were placed on top of the objects or were pinned on clothes. In other instances, labels were too high for the visitor to read while slide shows were not always helpful but confusing instead.

The museum attempts to give its permanent display a more people-centred orientation by employing a variety of interpretative techniques, which nevertheless are not rationally bound with the exhibits so the exhibition remains object-oriented and fragmented. Furthermore, the museum does not encourage critical thinking but rather simply disseminates historical knowledge about objects and artefacts ignoring the fact that technology might mean different things to different people (Fitzgerald 1996, 126). A more pluralistic approach might have proved more beneficial.

The Zaans Museum is not a folk museum. However, in the light of the suggestion that potentially any museum could be a social history museum (Hudson 1987) and taking into consideration the director's claim that this is a cultural history museum (Renckens-Stenneberg 2004) it was briefly examined so that possible "folk" elements, effectively incorporated in the exhibitions could be identified. Unfortunately, Zaans Museum's attempt to present local life through the development of the industry of the region was not very convincing. Perhaps a more creative use of interpretative techniques along with a more comprehensible concept design of the exhibition might have brought the subject to life. Looking at interpretation from a social history perspective would have given a more consistent picture of life in Zaans and would have encouraged visitors to make their own associations as far as the impact that technological development might have on a region and its residents.

Zuiderzee Museum

The Zuiderzee Museum consists of two parts: the open-air museum with one hundred and thirty dwellings and workshops and an indoor one with permanent and temporary displays. Both are situated in Enkhuizen in the Northern part of the Netherlands and opened in 1948.

The Zuiderzee Museum, as happens with the majority of the museums with a folk interest, is the product of a private initiative. In 1923, almost ten years before the transformation of the open Zuiderzee (part of the North Sea) into Netherland's largest inland lake by the construction of the Afsluitdijk dam, a group of friends decided to make a museum in order to house the collections they had accumulated by purchasing things that were disappearing. When the construction of the dam was decided on some traditional buildings were removed and rebuilt on a suitable site in order to create an

open-air museum with the aim of preserving the material culture of the Zuiderzee, which might have otherwise disappeared.

The open-air museum (Picture 4.45) based on Scandinavian models, presents therefore the way of life and work in Zuiderzee area in the period 1880-1932 seen through a number of buildings, which have been rebuilt and relocated according to the street plans of the neighbourhoods of a typical Zuiderzee village. Visitors stroll around barns, farms, kilns, furnished and unfurnished dwellings, workshops and shops, windmills and bridges, which attempt to evoke the atmosphere of an old regional town. Live craft demonstrations (Picture 4.46) and costumed live interpreters are also recruited so as to enhance visitors' understanding and enjoyment of how people lived in the past.

Picture 4.45 *Aspect of the Zuiderzee Open-Air Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.46 *Making smoked fish at the Zuiderzee Open-Air Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Alongside the open-air museum the indoor museum, through its permanent and temporary displays and by employing a variety of interpretative means used in an imaginative and modern way, presents facets of the history of the area and its inhabitants. The whaling industry, the struggle against the water and the process of the construction of the Enclosure Dam, shipping and water transport, fishing and the fish market as well as many other aspects of life and work are shown in a captivating way. Bilingual textual information in Dutch and English language; film footage and oral posts (Picture 4.47) – unfortunately only in Dutch language-; computer interactives and dioramas, such as the pepper loft (Picture 4.48) that immerse visitors in the sounds, sights and smells of an eighteenth century warehouse; and also the reconstruction of two domestic interiors based on two engravings are displayed in the gallery to stimulate visitors' curiosity and interest and promote fruitful participation. More abstract issues are also explored. At the time of the visit for instance the theme of ranks and classes was at the fore. Visitors could either follow a thematic route or determine their own way

around both the open-air and the indoor museum in order to answer the questions on the leaflet entitled *Rank and Classes on the Banks of the Zuiderzee* and find out how the way of life of rich and poor differed in bygone times. This visitor interaction with the exhibits is also encouraged in the exhibit *Spotlight of Five Objects* where visitors may themselves be the active researchers of five museum objects, which they investigate by using various museum resources.

Picture 4.47 *Children listening to oral histories © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.48 *The old warehouse © Olga Fakatseli*

The museum clearly places people at the centre of attention and employs modern techniques to engage visitors' participation. However it concentrates on the past and although it acknowledges folklore it attributes to it an old fashioned and outdated meaning. As we read in a central panel entitled "folklore":

> "The customs and habits of country folk had already attracted the attention of a few scholars between 1600-1800. Although scholarly concern declined after 1800, interest in local culture and identity lived on in many areas.
>
> In the Netherlands as in Germany the 19th c. saw the emergence of a folkloristic movement. Convinced that a nation origin lay in the countryside the folklorists diligently set about collecting artefacts from these rapidly disappearing traditional communities. They were particularly interested in domestic culture and the customs and traditions of the rural population which they then proceeded to bring to the attention of the general public in exhibitions, books and illustrated journals".

This is certainly a very limited view of folklore and a very clear example of how a museum can explicitly produce distorted images of folklore in visitors' minds. This might be because the museum itself focuses on life in late 18th and early 19th centuries and would like thus to give a justification about how and why its collections were formed. Yet it seems to ignore the modern theoretical perspectives of folklore and to simply reproduce the 19th century notion of it.

In 1984 the Zuiderzeemuseum won the European Museum of the Year Award.

The Netherlands Open-Air Museum (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum)

The Netherlands Open-Air Museum opened in Waterberg country estate near Arnhem in 1918 under the name National Heritage Museum and is the tangible result of the initiatives of the National Heritage Museum Association, which was established in 1912 in order to preserve the diverse Dutch cultural heritage as manifested through vernacular architecture and regional traditions around Holland. In 1941 the museum was renamed the National Folk Museum and in 1955 it organized its first exhibition *The Netherlands in Wedding Attire* following a 1948 national appeal for the search for and collection of regional dresses. After a crisis in 1987 when the museum confronted permanent closure it was privatized. Its collections and buildings nevertheless, remained State property. Since privatization the museum, renamed to the Netherlands Open-Air museum, has expanded its horizons to include both peasant life and work and everyday popular culture (Boot, Jong et al. 2000). The vision of the new director, who is a social historian by training, is to address "the dark side of folk history" and interpret the past through a social history perspective that takes into consideration multiple views of diverse people (Morris 2005, 28).

The open-air section was designed following Scandinavian models and includes more than eighty-five buildings, dating from 1700 to 1970 and arranged according to geographic origins. There is a great variety of buildings, farmhouses, kilns, barns, cottages, houses, churches, schools, gardens, mills, bridges, stores and workshops. Again, as is the usual case in open-air museums, there are many activities from traditional bread baking and laundry work to more innovative and imaginative programmes such as handcrafted paper production in the paper mill and archery competitions or pall-mall games. Signage outside each building as well as costumed interpreters in several sites, video, photographs, oral history projects, sounds and smells are all employed so as to illuminate the living and working conditions of both wealthy and poor and help visitors to make connections with the exhibits. Visitors can further plunge into Dutch daily life in the past by taking one of the historical trams for a tour around the museum (Picture 4.49).

In contrast with the majority of European folk or open-air museums the Netherlands Open-Air Museum manages to overcome the usual temptation to concentrate on pre-industrial societies and lament the loss of past traditions by breaking any connections to today's world. Quite the opposite, the museum attempts to encompass urban culture of the more recent past whilst, although nostalgia is not entirely avoided, effort is made to present life through a less idyllic spectrum. The Green Cross Health centre from the 1950s and the Tilburg laborer's houses are two examples (Picture 4.50). In the case of the four Tilburg workers' houses in particular, which make up a small street, visitors are given the opportunity to realise how life and hygiene developed over a period of a hundred years: the first house is representative of the 1860s, the second dates from 1910, the third represents the 1950s and the fourth the 1970s.

Information about habits, customs and traditions from eating habits, clothing and leisure to religious practices and rites de passage is provided in abundance and is often introduced through third-person interpretation.

Picture 4.49 *The historical tram © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.50 *The 1970s labourer house with the stork in front of the house symbolizing the birth of a child and the Renault car implying a certain life style © Olga Fakatseli*

The museum possesses extensive collections of objects of everyday life, clothing, tools, furniture, public transport media, children's items and a huge variety of other objects. Some of them have been used to furnish the buildings of the Open-Air Museum, some are safely stored and the rest are displayed in the indoor permanent and temporary exhibitions where the tendency to present aspects of contemporary living alongside life in the past is also revealed. In particular, in the exhibition entitled *The Dutchman* at the entrance hall of HollandRama, the emphasis is on todays' way of life. Popular culture, TV screens projecting twentieth century advertisements, electrical appliances, modern

food diets, fashion, work, children's life, etc., attempt to show to visitors how the modern Dutch live. The HollandRama itself, a sort of time capsule, though more suited to a theme park and not to a museum, offers visitors panoramic theatrical scenes from aspects of everyday life in Holland of yesteryear and today.

Also worth noting are the permanent displays of male, female and children's regional costumes. Visitors have the opportunity to discover the role that regional costumes played in people's lives by watching interviews of local people and documentaries showing how the various parts of the costumes were worn.

In an article in ICOM Study Series Adriaan de Jong roughly classifies open-air museums into those which are orientated towards the history of the buildings and those which are inclined towards presenting the use and living conditions in the buildings, highlighting the shifting interest from the objects in use to the people who used them (Jong 1999). The Netherlands Open-Air Museum is a museum about people. It contextualizes its collections and tells narratives with a multitude of interpretative techniques in order to enhance visitors' understanding and enjoyment and to encourage involvement and participation.

4.3.9 United Kingdom (N= 4)

Blaise Castle House Museum

The Blaise Castle Museum is housed in an 18th century Georgian mansion and is situated in the beautiful parkland of the Blaise Estate at Henbury. It is a municipal museum, a branch of the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, which since 1949 has been a showplace for the social history collection. The museum boasts 30,000 objects which document rural and urban Bristol. Limited space enables only a small part of the collection to be displayed.

The museum has arranged its collections in a narrative which takes its visitors to various subjects from the history of the estate through a series of prints and drawings on the ground floor to everyday life matters on the first floor. The focus however, is on exhibits of past daily life including the Toys Room, the Costume Collection (Picture 4.51) and the Bristol at Home Display where a variety of domestic equipment, stoves,

fireplaces, toilets, baths, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, cooking utensils and other everyday items are presented.

Picture 4.51 *View of the display of clothing accessories © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.52 *A panel with information about washing facilities and habits © Olga Fakatseli*

Although the display is traditional and uninventive there is an attempt to relate objects to people and to elaborate in depth on some social issues. Due to financial constraints this attempt is limited to informative panels (Picture 4.52) which are illustrated with photographs and personal stories.

The display and interpretative techniques of the Blaise Castle Museum hardly differ from the ones of traditional folklore museums presented earlier in this chapter. The collection on display, however, concentrates on industrial and urban objects from the 20th century although the museum possesses in its stores much material from rural areas. This might be indicative of the tendency observed in many British museums to create a distance from anything that could be associated with folklore and to concentrate on the urban way of life under the wide umbrella of social history.

The Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum

The Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum (Picture 4.53) was initiated in 1967 by a small group of individuals who aimed to establish a national centre in order to rescue representative samples of vernacular architecture from the South East of England and to raise public consciousness of the built environment. The museum, which opened in

1970, aims to "save threatened buildings, and exhibit them in such a way as to help visitors appreciate the rich heritage of historic buildings in the region"(Harris 2002, 1).

Picture 4.53 *A view of the Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.54 *Making sweets in the working Tudor kitchen © Olga Fakatseli*

The museum boasts a collection of fifty traditional buildings from the 13th to the 19th century which have been carefully removed from their original sites in South East England and after being restored, they have been relocated in the beautiful Sussex countryside so that the historical development of building styles and types can be explored. A variety of buildings is presented from barns and farmhouses to a market hall and a Victorian school. The museum also possesses large collections of rural craft and industry tools a number of which have been used to furnish some of the historical buildings while others are used in educational activities to enliven perception of the rural life of the past 500 years. Visitors can wander around the museum and take part in a great range of activities addressed to adults and children alike. Traditional farming in action, animals, crafts demonstrations, hands on activities, songs and dance from medieval, Tudor and Stuart times, rural history re-enactments, home cooked food in the working Tudor kitchen (Picture 4.54) are just some of the events organized by the museum in its attempt to stimulate visitors interest and to enhance learning and enjoyment. There is also a very interesting adult learning programme where local people can become skilled in several disappearing crafts. A large network of enthusiastic volunteers, some of whom present their own craft skills in the museum, play a vital role in the good functioning of the museum and provide great assistance with the various activities.

The Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum is a lively and enthusiastic 21st century rural museum where people come to admire and learn about artifacts of the past without stepping down the past. It would have been more interesting however, if the museum

had expanded its collection policy to include buildings and practices from the 20th century instead of being so deeply attached to the more distant past. Moreover, some representative samples of urban architecture alongside the rural examples might have given a more complete perspective of the history of architecture in the South East region of Britain.

The Ulster Folk and Transport Museum – The Folk Museum

The Ulster Folk and Transport Museum was launched in 1958 by an Act of Parliament and opened its doors to the public in 1964. The museum was established in response to rapid change in the countryside and to the need to record a way of life that was disappearing. The museum, which is part of the National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland (MAGNI), aims to present the life and traditions of the people of Northern Ireland.

The building collection consists of more than forty representative rural and town buildings from across the area of Ulster which, after restoration, were transferred to the site of the museum in Cultra. The collection includes farms, streets, rural and town houses, schools, churches, shops and workshops. The buildings have been furnished with objects from the extensive museum collections which cover a wide area of interest. In particular the museum possesses:

- Collections of arable farming, pastoral farming and related aspects of rural society;
- Collections of domestic life concerned primarily with the life of people who used to live in the museum dwellings including a huge variety of furniture, domestic equipment, cooking utensils and children's toys;
- Collections of community life relating to life outside the home and documenting organizations including religion, friendly societies, trade unions, political activities, drinking clubs, public houses, beliefs, ideologies, sports, pastimes, seasonal customs and folk-narrative;
- Collections of crafts and occupations including examples of traditional craftsmanship but also medical and pharmaceutical instruments, tools and machinery of working life from the last 200 years;
- Collections of music and musical instruments; and

- Collections of textiles and costumes.

The museum also has created extensive oral history, sound, visual and documentary archival materials relating to past memories of Northern Ireland.

Picture 4.55 *A domestic interior of the Ulster Folk Museum with a costumed interpreter © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.56 *Aspect of the permanent exhibition "Meet the Victorians" © Olga Fakatseli*

Crafts demonstrations, a living farm, crop cultivation using traditional methods and costumed interpreters (Picture 4.55) willing to engage visitors to talk and to bring stories to life, are all employed in order to reach the museum's aims and to provide a delightful educational experience for visitors. There is, finally, an adult learning programme with courses in traditional arts and crafts such as patchwork and embroidery, teddy bear making, stained glass making, parchment crafts and many others.

There are also indoor permanent (Picture 4.56) and temporary exhibitions which explore in an imaginative and attractive way issues of social interest. The temporary exhibition *A place of sport* for example demonstrated the vital role that sport plays in the life of local communities in Northern Ireland through a variety of objects and an intelligent mix of both modern and more conventional interpretative means.

The Folk and Transport museum is a very lively organization which places people in the focus of its activities and has adopted a social history perspective. It has created inspirational and interactive links between its collections and its visitors and has promoted a good understanding of regional culture. In contrast with other outdoor museums which focus on rural culture alone it has encompassed urban living in its

collecting and displaying activities, yet as with the majority of outdoor/folk or social history museums, in its permanent displays it concentrates on the past and not on the present. Paradoxically it retains the title *Folk* in its title instead of adopting the more common, for British institutions, term of *social history*. This might have some impact on visitors' perception of the term folklore and might in a way discharge the negative conceptions of folklore as something outdated and old fashioned. Still, however, a more active incorporation of the more recent past and a comparative glance to today's way of life of local residents and also of local communities of the area might widen channels of communication and give a more pluralistic view of the Ulster of yesterday and today.

Overall the Ulster Folk and Transport museum is a high quality organization that ranks amongst the most important cultural institutions of Norhern Ireland and is established as a museum of international significance. The museum draws large numbers of visitors and in January 2005 won the European Museum of the Year Award.

Ulster American Folk Park

The Ulster American Folk Park was established in 1976 out of the private initiative of Dr T. Matthew Mellon and Mr Eric Montgomery in order to pay tribute to the emigration wave from Ulster to America during the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1998 the museum became part of the National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland (MAGNI).

The aim of the museum is to tell the story of emigration from Ireland to America and to help visitors to imagine the emotional and physical implications of emigration. In order to achieve this, the outdoor museum is organized in two parts: the old world and the new world sections. Visitors first wander around houses and workshops found in the Ulster countryside of the 18th and 19th centuries, some of which belonged to people who had themselves emigrated to America (Picture 4.57). Then they walk through the ship and dockside gallery which features a reconstruction of a dockside building and a sailing ship similar to the ones that used to carry the emigrants to one of America's busy ports like the one reconstructed in the museum. Visitors are now in the new World and wander around farms, stores and houses that have been transferred from America. In a way visitors follow the imaginary path of an Irish person who leaves his home country to search for a better life. The outdoor museum is complemented by the major indoor exhibition "Emigrants" which provides a comprehensive insight and a more holistic

vision of Ulster emigration history (Picture 4.58). The museum follows the patterns of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum in its presentation. This means it engages live interpretation in the outdoor museum while the theme of emigration in the indoor exhibition is interpreted through several personal stories and a variety of written, oral and visual techniques.

Picture 4.57 *Aspect of the outdoor museum in the Ulster American Folk Park © Olga Fakatseli*

Picture 4.58 *The entrance to the indoor exhibition © Olga Fakatseli*

It is also worth noting that the museum is called Folk Park and not the museum of emigration as one could expect. This may be because the museum deals with a way of life and at the same time is mainly an outdoor establishment which could have been described as an evolution of the traditional folk museum.

Again however, a 20th century perspective and even a glimpse of the current emigration activity in Northern Ireland could have better exploited the central subject and provided evident links between folklore and specific communities.

4.4 Summary of characteristics

This section aims to provide a summarised overview of the characteristics of the twenty four museums and sites reviewed. Tables 4.1-4.4 highlight features which are discussed in detail in section 4.5.

Table 4.1 offers a presentation of the museums selected for this study according to their stated field of interest.

These museums could be further categorised in relation to their status - state, independent, local authority - as presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1 *Categories of the museums and sites which were reviewed for the study (N= 24)*

Folk Life Museums (N= 6)	Social History Museums (N= 1)	History Museums (N= 7)	City History Museums (N= 3)	Community Museums (N= 1)	Open-air Museums (N= 6)
Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art	Blaise Castle House Museum	German Historical Museum	Museum of the city of Vienna	Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg	The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum
Folklore Museum in Antwerpen		Museum of European Cultures	Helsinki City Museum		Netherlands Open-air Museum
Folklore Museum in Brugge		The Jewish Museum in Berlin	Museum of the City of Luxembourg		Zuiderzeemuseum
Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires		Benaki Museum			Weald and Downland Open-air Museum
Museum of Greek Folk Art		National Historical Museum			Ulster-American Folk Park
Volendam Museum		National Museum of History and Art			Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
		Zaans Museum			

Table 4.2 *Classification of the museums reviewed according to their status (N= 24)*

State (N= 9)	Independent (N= 6)	Local Authority (N= 9)
Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art	Benaki Museum	Folklore Museum in Antwerpen
Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires	National Historical Museum	Folklore Museum in Brugge
German Historical Museum	Netherlands Open-air Museum	Helsinki City Museum
Museum of European Cultures	Zaans Museum	The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum, Turku
The Jewish Museum in Berlin	Zuiderzeemuseum	Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg
Museum of Greek Folk Art	Weald and Downland Open-air Museum	Museum of the City of Luxembourg
National Museum of History and Art		Volendam Museum
Ulster-American Folk Park		Blaise Castle House Museum
Ulster Folk and Transport Museum		Museum of the city of Vienna

Table 4.3 *The interpretative scope of museums surveyed in 2003-2005 (N= 22)*

Museum	Past (N= 21)	Present/very recent past (N= 4)	Tangible heritage (N= 21)	Intangible heritage (N= 10)	Rural (N= 15)	Urban (N= 8)	Social history (N= 16)
Zaans Museum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands Open-air Museum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Handicrafts Museum, Turku	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Ulster Folk and Transport, UK	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ulster-American Folk Park, UK	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jewish Museum, Berlin	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y
Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Folklore Museum in Antwerp	Y		Y	Y		Y	Y
Folklore Museum in Brugge	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y
Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y
European Cultures, Berlin	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y
History and Art, Luxembourg	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y
Helsinki City Museum	Y		Y			Y	Y
Volendam Museum	Y		Y		Y		Y
Zuiderzee Museum	Y		Y		Y		Y
Blaise Castle House, UK	Y		Y			Y	Y
Weald and Downland, UK	Y		Y		Y		Y
Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art	Y		Y		Y		
Benaki, Athens	Y		Y		Y		
Historical Museum, Athens	Y		Y		Y		
Museum of Greek Folk Art	Y		Y		Y		
Museum of the city of Vienna	Y		Y				
Historical Museum, Berlin	The museum will open to the public in 2006						
City Museum, Luxembourg	No folklore or social history perspective in the permanent displays						

Table 4.4 *Interpretative means used by the examined museums (N= 23)*

Museum	Object-Centred (N= 14)	People-Centred (N= 10)	Textual (N= 21)	Room Sets (N= 15)	Visual/ Sound (N= 12)	Oral History (N= 6)	Live interpretation (N= 7)	I/T (N= 4)	Temp. displays (N= 7)
Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art	Y		Y						Y
Museum of the city of Vienna	Y		Y						
Folklore Museum in Antwerp	Y		Y						Y
Folklore Museum in Brugge	Y		Y	Y					
Helsinki City Museum	Y		Y	Y	Y				Y
Handicrafts Museum, Turku		Y		Y			Y		
Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y		Y
Historical Museum, Berlin	The museum will open to the public in 2006								
Jewish Museum, Berlin		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	
European Cultures, Berlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				
Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg	Y		Y						
Benaki, Athens	Y		Y	Y					
Historical Museum, Athens	Y		Y						
Museum of Greek Folk Art	Y		Y		Y				Y
History and Art, Luxembourg	Y		Y	Y					
City Museum, Luxembourg		Y	Y		Y			Y	Y
Volendam Museum		Y	Y	Y	Y				
Zaans Museum	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y			
Zuiderzee Museum		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Netherlands Open-air Museum		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Blaise Castle House, UK	Y		Y						
Weald and Downland, UK		Y		Y			Y		
Ulster Folk and Transport, UK		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ulster-American Folk Park, UK		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		

Table 4.3 gives an overview of how the reviewed museums perceive folklore through their permanent exhibitions. The broad categories past, present/very recent past, tangible heritage (material objects), intangible heritage, rural, urban, and social history, indicate the examined museums' attitudes towards folklore. The table is not indicative of the means that the museums use to reproduce folklore. For instance, a museum might associate folklore with intangible heritage without incorporating it in its activities, that is, by simply denoting it through material culture, e.g. musical instruments, and not by employing intangible interpretative means, e.g. stories, music and songs.

Finally, Table 4.4 presents the profile of the interpretative means that the reviewed museums have chosen to represent folklore and everyday life. The first two categories indicate whether the museum is object or people oriented; textual, room sets, visual/sound, oral history, live interpretation, and Information Technology (I/T) categories are self explanatory and designate whether the museums examined employ these interpretative means. The last category, temporary displays, is used in this table to indicate the use of temporary exhibitions for the presentation of present day and more controversial topics alongside permanent and usually more traditional museum displays and not the customary mounting of a range of temporary displays.

4.5 Discussion

The following discussion is organised into topics raised by the investigation.

4.5.1 Museum folklore stereotypes: rural life

Alarmingly, the twenty four Critical Reviews of museums revealed that more than a century after the development of the first European folk museums, those which 21st people visit are still imbued with the prejudiced stereotypical formula of presenting the "old traditional rural way of life" in a distinctive region within a sentimental nostalgic framework.

Thus, in contrast to folklore theory, which has developed, grown and expanded its interests to encompass urban and industrialised environments, folk museums have stuck to the visual presentation of folklore as a contrast between past, traditional, rural

material cultures and, by implication, the undescribed modern, urban cultures of the presumed visitors. Ten out of twenty four museums (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Handicrafts Museum in Turku, Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris, Benaki Museum, National Historical Museum and Museum of Greek Folk Art in Athens, National Museum of History and Art in Luxembourg, Volendam Museum in the Netherlands, the Weald and Downland in Surrey UK, see table 4.3) mainly associate folklore only with rural life in their exhibitions. The remaining museums which attribute some sort of folkloric elements to urban city life do so from a different perspective, usually dictated by the field of interest of each museum; for example the Jewish museum or the museum of European Cultures show urban life from the history perspective, the Heimatmuseum from a community perspective, and so on (see tables 4.1 and 4.3). It is interesting to note that only one from the museums that present urban life describes itself as purely a folk life museum (Folklore Museum in Antwerp, see table 4.1).

It was indicated in chapter 2 that folklore is a dynamic communicative process expressed through diverse means by all social classes and cannot as such be traced only in selected strata of society. Consequently, the passive perseverance of museums in presenting traditional displays showing only past village life as being related to folklore can be only ascribed to a general misconception (or worse, inertia) which has led to a false dichotomy between rural and urban life.

4.5.2 Museum folklore stereotypes: past life

The awareness that traditions are constantly changing and the fact that the sense of the recent past differs from individual to individual (Merriman 2000) should urge today's folk museums to a shift towards contemporary societies. However, the twenty four museums which have been critically reviewed for this study are mainly concerned to record the ordinary person's life and beliefs at the end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, only five out of the twenty four examined museums - the Jewish Museum and the Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg in Berlin, the Zaans Museum and the Netherlands Open-air Museum in the Netherlands and the Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum in Finland (see table 4.3) - include some form of contemporary expression of folklore in their exhibitions. This attitude could be explained by the fact

that modern museum folk displays reflect the collection policies prevailing at the time when folk life became an area of museum collection for whatever reason. Folk life collections seem to have been made when there has been a relatively sudden momentous change in society e.g. industrial revolution, wars, nationalism, voting rights. That is, they record a nostalgic past from before an "event" instead of a continuous stream of behaviour. Also, in many cases collection policies have obviously not been reviewed and, also, curatorial expertise may have been withdrawn from many folk collections so these have later become orphan collections in many museums.

4.5.3 Museum folklore stereotypes: tangible heritage

These museums tended to ignore the multiplicity of folkloric expressive forms and the variety of folk groups where folklore might have swayed. Instead, they tend to present material culture only, so bestowing a very limited image of what folklore might encapsulate. All the examined museums focus on material culture while the intangible aspects of folklore are articulated with objects and tangible evidence, e.g. traditional or folk music is presented with the display of traditional musical instruments instead of music and songs (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Museum of Greek Folk Art) and dialect language might be implied or mentioned but not heard. Perhaps museums should broaden their scope by incorporating intangible heritage in their collections and interpretative functions and by daring to present the folklore of diverse folk groups in order to show folklore's multiformity. Encouragingly, the image of museums as temples of material culture seems to be gradually undergoing change as can be implied by the 2004 triennial general conference of the International Council of Museums which put intangible heritage and its incorporation in museums at the centre of current activities (20th General Conference and 21st Assembly of ICOM, Museums and Intangible Heritage, 2-8 October 2004, Seoul).

4.5.4 Museums' awareness of modern folklore theory

It has been argued that the relationship between academic institutions and museums has always been unpredictable and that frequently the interests of academics differ from those of their colleagues in museums (Davies 1993). This difference is obvious in many

examples of the museum reviews reported here, where one might reasonably wonder whether theoretical folklorists and museum people have the same issues in mind when interpreting folklore. In many cases, as inferred from the interviews conducted, museum staff may not be at all aware of the contemporary face of folklore or might not have the time to consider modern theoretical developments. This realisation, which is particularly true for most small local authority folk museums (e.g. Folklore Museum in Bruges, Volendam Museum, as well as a majority of other small museums found in villages and small towns not included in this study), is rather depressing as it leaves no room for possible change in the near future.

Indeed, many small provincial museum institutions such as the Volendam museum would never get off the ground if it wasn't for dedicated local people who give their energy and commitment for the benefit of their community. The fact that museums might be initiated by the community is itself very encouraging but this does not mean that the new local institutions are always aware of the possibilities they could offer in order to broaden the community's horizons on specific issues. The majority of these small museums attempt to preserve a past gone by and as they usually deal to a great extent with folklore and traditional culture they can easily project distorted, nostalgic images of folklore to visitors. Equally, as they commonly focus on the material culture of rural societies and old ways of life instead of achieving a balance between rural and urban and past and contemporary life, they may easily fall into the trap of reproducing folklore stereotypes even if they seriously try to do their best in order to contribute to local people's understanding of themselves. This might be partly to do with the fact that small folk or local history museums are usually reliant on the generosity of Regional and/or Local Government and they do what they can outside of any national funding framework and usually without the least professional help. In other words these local enthusiasts do not usually have the necessary academic background that would predispose them to a commitment to modern folklore perspectives and for that reason small museums' collecting and exhibitions policies are commonly based on outdated examples which are considered safe and uncontroversial.

In other cases such as the Zuidersee Museum, the museum itself attempts to enlighten visitors' perceptions of folklore by offering a folklore definition in a panel. However, by not mentioning at all how folklore expanded during the 20th century to encompass urban, industrialised and migrant societies let alone by failing to adopt a comparative look between yesterday and present life, the museum officially promotes a folklore

stereotype as old and rural material culture, which has no relevance to dynamic contemporary environments and fails therefore to keep up with the times.

To make matters worse even when the curators of larger institutions are well aware of modern theoretical perspectives of folklore this does not necessarily mean that they apply them in permanent displays due mainly, it seems, to internal politics and to conflicts of opinions with other colleagues e.g. Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, the Folklore Museum in Antwerp, National Historical Museum in Athens.

4.5.5 Terminology problem

Another interesting problem, which came to light through the Critical Reviews process, is that of terminology. In recent decades there is a tendency, especially amongst large institutions, to reject the term folklore both from their brand name and their collections and exhibitions (see, for example, Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Museum of European Cultures in Berlin, Benaki Museum in Athens, the Netherlands Open-air Museum).

This is due to the negative connotations that the terms folklore and folk life and related collections have accrued during their museological existence. These negative associations seem to have stronger impact in museums than the recent image of folklore as shaped in a positive light by modern theory. Perhaps the smouldering fears that a museum might be considered old fashioned and outdated if it includes the word folklore in its name forces museums to suppress the term in favour of other more neutral expressions. It could also be to do with modern efforts of documentation where maybe folklore is not in the fields. In the social history curators group online database for instance, there are only music, dance, drama and stories registered under the section Folk Collections.

In other circumstances the change of a museum title and orientation may herald indeed a new era of significance for folklore collections and theory. This might be the case for the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin, a merger of the Museum of Folklore and the Museum of Ethnology, and its French counterpart the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée in Marseille a re-interpretation of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris, which is expected to open in 2008. In the mentioned

examples transition can be suppression of title but not of the subject of folklore. These changes however, usually happen without giving any explanations to museum visitors and thus may contribute to the preservation of the distorted image of folklore instead of sorting out the continuation problem. Museum visitors might reasonably attribute the alteration of the name of a museum to the possible change of the museum's aims and objectives with regard to folklore and not to a museum's eagerness to widen its approaches within the framework of the folklore discipline. Hence, folklore remains associated with old culture in the public mind and lacks any possibility of being clearly connected with modern contemporary societies.

Such might be the case with a significant proportion of British folk life museums which in the 1980s moved under the banner of social history (Kavanagh 1990). This, however, may result in a fragmented representation of the past as well as a narrowed and distorted presentation of social history itself, which is assumed to deal only with urban and industrialized environments and not with the conditions of life in an area in total. Such an observation raises worries, similar to those observed in the case of folklore, about whether the term social history is an adequate classification for a museum or a museum collection or whether social history is a theoretical prism through which a collection might be presented and interpreted.

4.5.6 Folklore interpretation

By examining the interpretative means that the investigated museums have engaged to construe folklore it can be seen that with the illuminating exception of the open-air museums, the majority of the folk displays are object orientated and employ very traditional techniques such as texts and room sets (table 4.4). Only four museums (Jewish Museum, Museum of History of the city of Luxembourg, Zuiderzee Museum and Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, see table 4.4) employ high technology in their communication approach while oral history posts and live interpretation which might be expected to be more common in museums of human history are again scarcely used.

The challenging opening up of museums to human expressive behaviours and individualised perceptions of the past is far from an easy task as is indicated by the examples of the *Ulster Folk and Transport Museum* in Belfast and the *Netherlands Open-air Museum* in Arnhem, Netherlands. Both institutions offer a large range of

activities in order to broadly illustrate the dynamism of the everyday history of the community they serve. However, they do not escape the static and "lifeless" representation of life, as the head of curatorial services of the first site so vividly, and at the same time so melancholically, pointed out during our discussion in March 2004.

4.5.7 The characteristics of museums favourable to the modern view of folklore

Tables 4.2 (Institutional Status) and 4.3 (Interpretative Scope) reveal that the widest range of interpretative means is not dependent on the institutional status (Table 4.2) of the museums.

On the other hand, since four of the museums with the widest interpretative scope in Table 4.3 are open-air museums we can conclude that this institutional arrangement leads the way in depicting folk life and other institutions could learn from them. Certainly these museums do not embrace the modern perspective of folklore as presented in theory. They rather incorporate some modern folklore elements e.g. presentation of recent past and urban life, whereas the rest of the museums reviewed remain rather traditional.

Finally table 4.4 reveals that this position is not entirely reliant on the means of interpretation employed.

4.5.8 Temporary exhibitions

It is also worth noting that seven of the twenty four museums try to modernise their approach by leaving their permanent displays in a 19th century usually rural context, but put on occasional temporary exhibitions which take a modern folklore theory approach and use a greater variety of interpretative means (Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Folklore Museum in Antwerp, Helsinki City Museum, Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Museum of Greek Folk Art, Museum of History of the city of Luxembourg, Ulster Folk and Transfer Museum, see table 4.4-Interpretative Means).

These contradictions between permanent and temporary displays might be attributed to the different approaches taken towards folklore amongst the museum curators. Such a

situation is not rare in folk life museums and organisations. A more give and take attitude amongst museum workers would result in a more accurate conveyance of past human experience, so making folklore more intelligible in the wider museum context.

4.6 Summary

This chapter explored how folklore is acknowledged, presented and interpreted in contemporary museums. After an historical overview of the development of the "folk museum" in Europe it presented twenty four Museum Critical Reviews and then discussed the main issues raised from the examination. The following chapter will deal with museum visitors' perceptions about folklore and social history as recorded through the survey conducted for this study.

5 Visitor Survey: Analysis and Interpretation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical exploration of visitors' opinions about folk life and social history based on the survey of 551 museum visitors. The questionnaire administered to visitors appears as Appendix II. The findings provide support for the argument that visitors are not well aware of the modern applications of folklore theory while for them the term social history tends to be more confusing than illuminating.

The chapter first presents the demographic characteristics of the visitors questioned. The statistical presentation of the findings follows the framework employed in the previous Critical Reviews analysis along with several extra categories that relate to thematic areas not previously mentioned. Finally a conclusion summarizes the presentation of the findings.

5.1.1 Statistical treatment of the data

Apart from descriptive statistical techniques that provide frequency tables and graphs, chi-squared (χ^2) tests for independence are employed. A χ^2 test is the most adequate test for calculating statistical significance, as well as associations, between categorical data (Dancey and Reidy 2004), such as the data of the present study. Statistical significance indicates whether the findings are due, or not, to chance in the form of random sampling error while tests of associations provide interesting measurements about associations between variables. In cases where there are two variables with two levels (e.g. {agree, disagree} or {yes, no}) as for example with categorical variables such as *"folk life is about rural culture of the past"* and *"folk life is about rural culture of the present"*, then

a χ^2 test for independence: 2×2 is used. When there are two categorical variables but more than two levels, for example a variable with *r* levels and a second variable with *c* levels then a χ^2 test for independence: *r*×*c* is used.

In both cases the denoted statistics are the χ^2 value, the p-value which is the probability of the χ^2 value having arisen by sampling error, the degrees of freedom (DF), which in χ^2 tests equate to (*r*-1)×(*c*-1), and the Cramer's V correlation coefficient which is interpreted as a measure of effect and is very useful in cases where a statistically significant chi-squared value is suspected to be the result of a large sample size and not the outcome of a substantive relationship between the variables (Dancey and Reidy 2004, 255).

Tables of high significance are discussed in detail and are reported in the chapter while tables of additional interest are presented in Appendix IV.

The notation of the tables, unless stated otherwise, is as follows:

- χ^2 = a chi-squared value of a χ^2 : 2×2 or r×c test of independence (for DF= 1 and p<0.001 the chi-squared value should be equal or more than 10.828, while for p<0.01 the chi-squared value should be equal or more than 6.635 and for p<0.05 the chi-squared value should be equal or more than 3.841, for DF=2 and p<0.001 the chi-squared value should be equal or more than 13.816, for p<0.01 it should be equal or more than 9.210 and for p<0.05 it should be equal or more than 5.991 (Snedecor and Cochran 1989; Keeping 1995; NIST/SEMATECH 2005).

- p= the probability value, where E denotes a power of ten {1E(-2)= 1×10^{-2}= 0.01}

- V= Cramer's V correlation coefficient. The coefficient ranges from -1 to +1, with -1 indicating a perfect negative relationship between the two variables (high scores on one variable are associated with low scores on the other variable), 0 indicating no association, and +1 representing the perfect association where high scores on one variable are associated with high scores on the other variable or conversely low scores on one variable are associated with low scores on the other. A Cramer's V of 0.1 provides a good minimum threshold for suggesting there is a substantive relationship between two

variables. More precisely, ranges between ±0.1 - ±0.3 are considered weak associations, between ±0.4 - ±0.6 moderate and between ±0.7 - ±0.9 strong ones (Dancey and Reidy 2004, 171).

- Effect size (when stated)= the interpretation of Cramer's V correlation coefficient, that is the percentage derived by the square of Cramer's correlation.

Superscripts, when used, indicate items of the questionnaire which are interpreted in the text near the tables. A table with all the items of the questionnaire (see Appendix II) which have been ascribed superscripts is provided in Table IV.1 in Appendix IV. Moreover, when missing values are not provided valid percentages are given.

Words, graphics and tables are employed in a multiple-level way in order to draw the reader's attention to the sense and substance of the data and make complex information more accessible. Data graphical forms follow the key elements of design simplicity and proportion, as described by Edward Tufte in *The visual display of quantitative information* (Tufte 2001, 177).

5.2 Visitor profile

The visitor profile for the three participant museums (Benaki Museum, National Historical Museum and Museum of Greek Folk Art) is described by reference to demographic characteristics. A total of 551 adult visitors participated in the study. Almost half of them (50.6 %) were from Greece, with the remainder (49.4 %) from other parts of the world (Table IV.2, Appendix IV). To facilitate the analysis various nationalities were collapsed into three broad categories: Greece, rest of Europe and rest of the world (Figure 5.1).

The largest age group visiting the folk galleries of the three Athenian museums consists of men and women in their 30s (30.7 %) with those in their 40s (21.1 %) and 50s (16 %) following. Women are represented at a slightly higher rate than men (55.9 % of women and 44.1 % of men) (Figure 5.2). Educational level influences on museum visiting have a high significance with, in this sample, the least educated visiting group visiting at a rate of only 0.9 %, compared to 65.7 % for the most highly educated (Figure 5.3). Almost 70% of the sample are employed (58.8% are engaged in full-time employment

and 9.6% in part time), 17.6% are students, 9.3% are retired and 4% are unemployed (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.1 *Respondents' nationalities collapsed into three categories, N= 551 respondents, missing= 4*

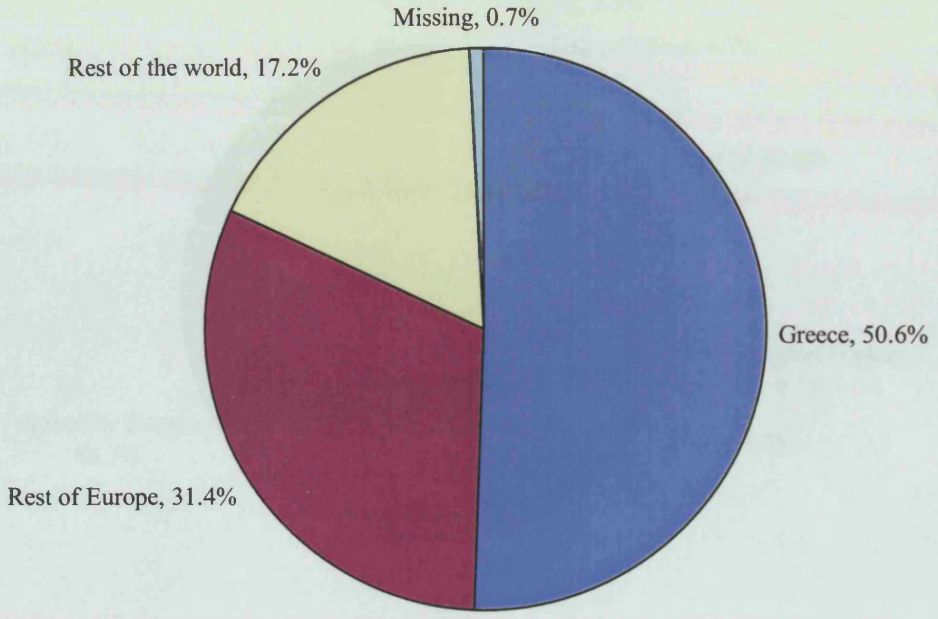


Figure 5.2 *Age and gender of visitors interviewed, N= 551 respondents, missing= 1*

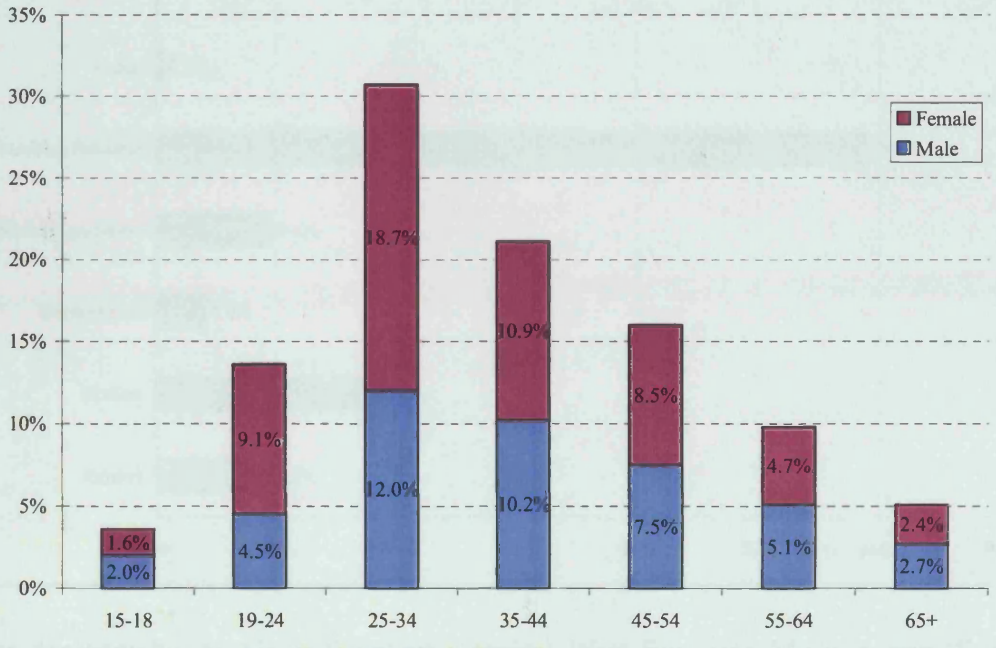


Figure 5.3 *Educational level of visitors interviewed, N= 551 respondents, missing= 1*

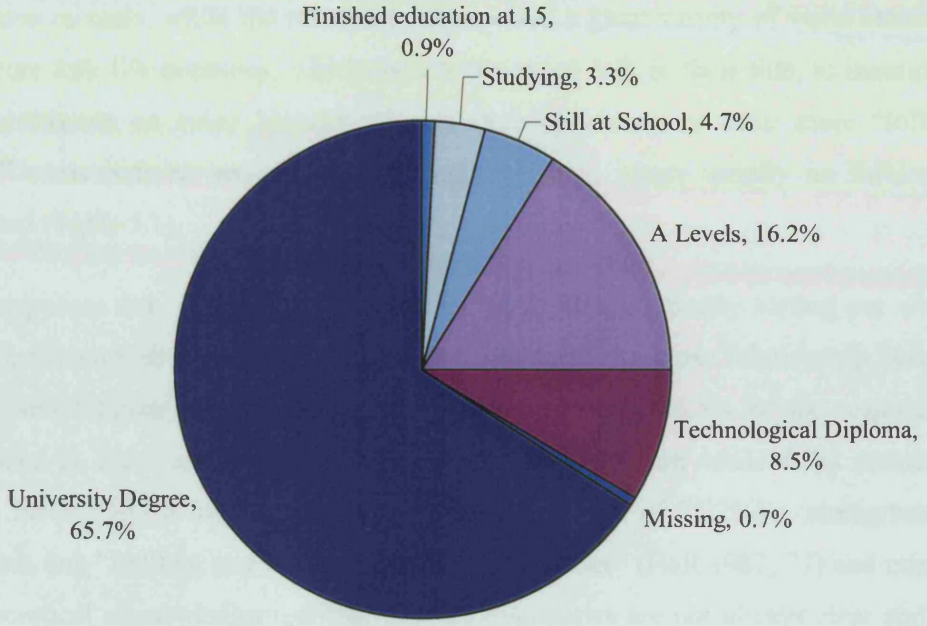
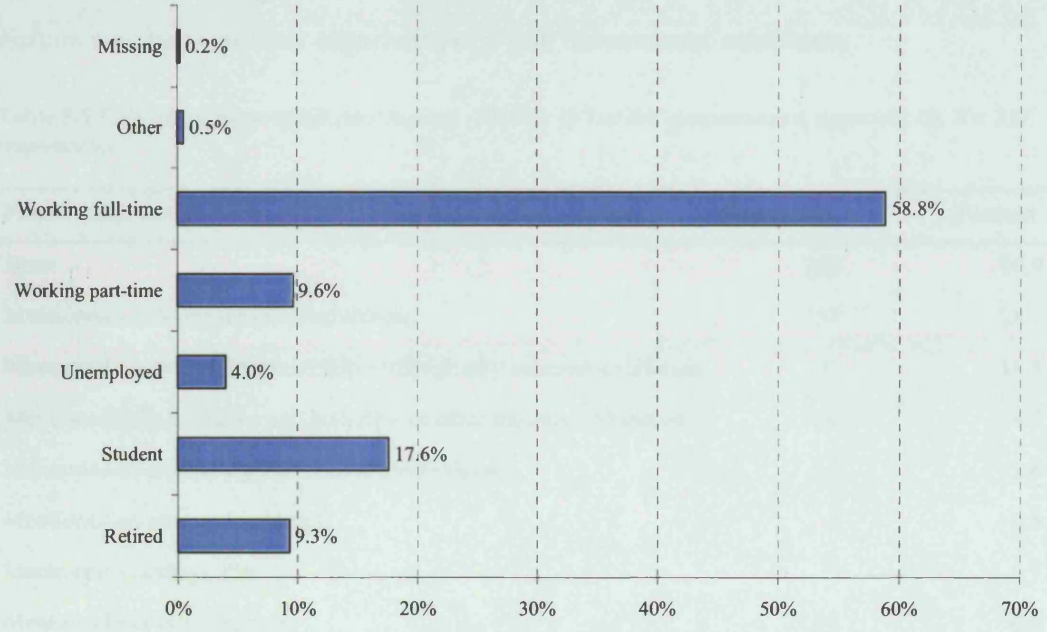


Figure 5.4 *Occupational status of visitors interviewed, N= 551 respondents, missing= 1*



The demographic profile is therefore a typical West European Museum one (Davies 1994).

5.3 Folk life museum/exhibition visiting

Four out of ten of the overall sample (39.9 %) had not visited a folk life museum or exhibition recently, while the rest (60.1 %) reported a great variety of visits extending from pure folk life museums, which include the word folk in their title, to institutions that concentrate on either broader subjects such as history or other more "folklore distant" areas such as art, archaeology, industry, etc., where usually no folklore is presented (Table 5.1).

Such responses may indicate a difficulty for the visitors in clearly sorting out what a folk life museum should collect, exhibit and interpret. The close relationship between history and folklore which is observed in the responses - 16.5% of the respondents mentioned in their replies a history based museum/exhibition while 4.7% mentioned both a history and a folklore museum/exhibition (a total of 21.2%) – strengthen the argument that "folklore and history museums go together" (Hall 1987, 77) and confirm the theoretical acknowledgement that folklore boundaries are not always clear and that folklore might well be presented in virtually any museum of cultural history.

Finally the fact that 17.1% of the respondents mentioned in their reply one of the museums surveyed: National Historical Museum, The Benaki Museum or the Museum of Greek Folk Art suggests that the place of the interview may have a certain impact on visitors who have no other experience of a folk life museum/exhibition.

Table 5.1 *Folk life museum/exhibition visiting, (Source: Q 1 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents*

Please name any folk life exhibition you have visited recently	Frequency	Percent
None	220	39.9
Mentioned a folklore museum/exhibition	158	28.7
Mentioned a history/city/community/ ethnography museum/exhibition	91	16.5
Mentioned both a folklore and historical or other museum/exhibition	26	4.7
Mentioned an archaeology/art museum/exhibition	15	2.8
Mentioned an open - air museum	3	0.5
Mentioned a heritage site	5	0.9
Mentioned any other museum	33	6.0
Total	551	100.0

5.4 The public image of folklore

5.4.1 Introduction

The Critical Reviews presented in the previous chapter gave an up-to-date picture of how folklore is currently depicted in a range of European museums, the prevalent image being the stereotyped one of a rural way of life in the past. These presentations may portray individual curator's or institutional perceptions of folklore but definitely do not take into account the corresponding public's views as no direct questioning about these matters has been done previously. Subsequently, the results of the visitors' survey of this study aim to validate or reject museums' assumptions or predilections about folklore.

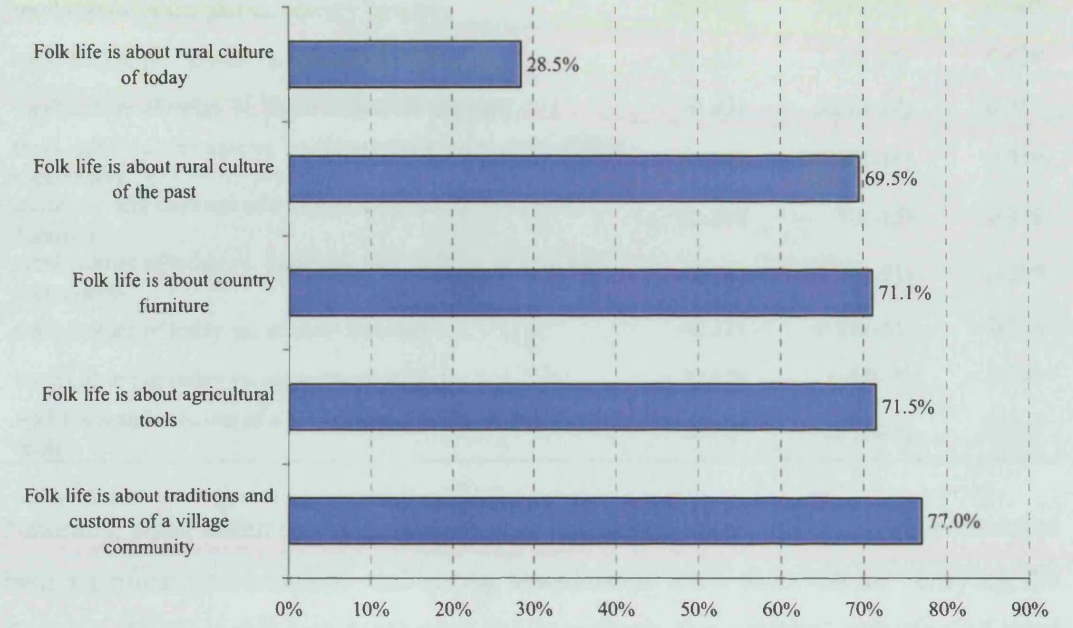
5.4.2 Rural life

In contrast to folk life museums, which in their permanent displays closely associate folklore with rural cultures, visitors did not spontaneously make the same association when asked to report their views about the possible content of both the folklore discipline and folk life displays. Only 1.8 % of the respondents thought that a folk life display should present only rural life (Table IV.11 Appendix IV) while just 3.6 % mentioned the world rural in their definition of folklore (Table IV.12, Appendix IV). However, these percentages rise significantly when respondents had to select from a series of predetermined response categories (Figure 5.5). The majority related folk life to rural tangible or intangible heritage as can be seen by Figure 5.5 so making the rural character of folk life one of the most selected attributes of folklore. Twenty-three point two percent of the respondents selected all five rural culture related statements, 28.7 % selected the four out of the five and 17.1 % the three of five. Not surprisingly the emphasis is put on the past and not on the present as only 28.5 % of the respondents ticked the statement related to the present, 27.2 % chose both statements "folk life is about rural culture of the past" and "folk life is about rural culture of the present" while a large majority (69.5 %) agreed that "folk life is about rural culture of the past".

The fact that respondents do not impulsively include rural culture in their testimonies about folk life (as revealed by contrasting data from Tables IV.11 and IV.12 in

Appendix IV and Figure 5.5) but rather choose it when reminded of it may be attributed to the multidisciplinarity of folklore as a discipline as well as to the restriction of human capacity to convey everything in memory (Miller 1956).

Figure 5.5 *Association of folk life with rural culture (Source: Selection from Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*



Apparently, it seems that "rural society" is not the first thing that comes into visitors' mind when thinking about folklore, an outcome that should definitely make museums which prioritise the rural character of folklore think about. At the same time, the fact that visitors do eventually show a strong preference for "rurality" as a characteristic of folklore may imply the influence that museum displays exert on the shaping of visitors' views.

Several chi-squared tests were carried out to discover whether there were statistically significant relationships between the data. Table 5.2 presents the results of the cross-tabulations conducted for finding out associations between rural culture related items. The reported χ^2 values have associated probability values $p<0.001$, DF= 1, so eliminating the possibility of sampling errors. In this table and those that follow findings are usually ranked in order of strength of association.

Table 5.2 *Rural culture cross-tabulations (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
agricultural tools vs. country furniture	210.756	9.4E(-48)	0.618
traditional cooking utensils vs. country furniture	142.935	6E(-33)	0.509
agricultural tools vs. traditional cooking utensils	110.468	7.7E(-26)	0.448
rural culture of the past vs. country furniture	106.465	5.8E(-25)	0.440
rural culture of the past vs. agricultural tools	101.451	7.3E(-25)	0.429
rural culture of today vs. Rural culture of the past	70.201	5.3E(-17)	0.357
rural culture of the past vs. traditions and customs of a village community	67.093	2.6E(-16)	0.349
traditions and customs of a village community vs. country furniture	62.292	3E(-15)	0.336
rural culture of today vs. traditions and customs of a village community	42.783	6.1E(-11)	0.279
rural culture of today vs. country furniture	42.521	6.9E(-11)	0.278
rural culture of today vs. agricultural tools	33.629	6.6E(-9)	0.247
traditions and customs of a village community vs. agricultural tools	30.921	2.7E(-8)	0.237

Naturally, when statements regarding rural or agricultural elements were cross-tabulated both significant probabilities and strong associations were observed so verifying the findings of Figure 5.5 and confirming the hypothesis that visitors' selection of rural culture as a key feature of folk life is at the end very conscious (Table 5.2). For example, the first cross-tabulation in Table 5.2 indicates a χ^2 value of 210.756 which has an associated probability value of <0.0001, DF= 1 implying that this association is extremely unlikely to have arisen as a result of sampling error. Cramer's V was found to be 0.618 which means that nearly 38.2% (effect size) of the variation in frequencies of the selection of "agricultural tools" can be explained by the selection of "country furniture". It can therefore be concluded that there is a strong association between "agricultural tools" and "country furniture".

Table 5.3 on the next page presents the findings from cross-tabulating statements focusing on rural culture with statements regarding notions of identity, nationalism and popular culture.

Interestingly "popular culture" enters the picture first with "local" and "cultural identity" to follow. If we interpret the first line in Table 5.3 we have again a high χ^2 value of 261.108 with an associated probability value of <0.0001, and DF= 1, which make the possibility of a sampling error very unlikely. Cramer's V was found to be

0.690; thus approximately 47.6% of the variation in frequencies of "rural culture of today" can be explained by the selection of "popular culture". Consequently there is a significant association between "rural culture of today" and "popular culture". Such a finding may imply that these museum visitors identify popular culture as folk culture. In fact, the concept of popular culture as "a quasi-mythical rural folk culture was one of the two definitions of popular culture in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century; the second definition was the predominant notion of the popular culture as "the degraded mass culture of the new urban-industrial class" (Storey 2003, 1). However, the far lower χ^2 value recorded when "popular culture"[18] is examined with relation to "rural culture of the past" suggests that it is rather the notion of "present" which stands for the previous preference and not the value of "rurality".

Table 5.3 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture and abstract notions of nationalism, cultural identity and popular culture (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of today vs. popular culture	261.108	7.6E(-59)	0.690
rural culture of the past vs. local identity[27]	80.649	2.7E(-19)	0.383
rural culture of today vs. local identity[27]	62.346	2.8E(-15)	0.336
rural culture of today vs. cultural identity[26]	40.671	1.8E(-10)	0.272
rural culture of the past vs. cultural identity[26]	34.763	3.7E(-9)	0.251
rural culture of today vs. nationalism[25]	13.757	2E(-4)	0.158
rural culture of the past vs. popular culture[18]	10.202	0.001	0.136
rural culture of the past vs. nationalism[25]	3.409	0.065	0.079

The results between "rural culture" and "local"[27] or "cultural"[26] identity where visitors identified a kind of relation are predictable as is more clearly shown when examining the "local identity" factor further on. Nationalism[25] on the other hand does not seem to play any significant role with respect to rural culture for these visitors and very weak associations were revealed. This is a curious finding when it is considered that, in Greece, as elsewhere, the folk life collections we see today are often the remnants of collections made in order to affirm national identity in times of political independence. It seems that the original purpose for collecting no longer has validity for present day visitors.

Table 5.4 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture with material culture-related phrases (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. country furniture[22]	106.465	5.8E(-25)	0.440
rural culture of the past vs. agricultural tools[21]	101.451	7.3E(-25)	0.429
rural culture of the past vs. traditional cooking utensils[14]	67.279	2.4E(-16)	0.349
traditions and customs of a village community vs. country furniture	62.292	3E(-15)	0.336
rural culture of the past vs. lace[12]	47.072	6.8E(-12)	0.392
traditions and customs of a village community vs. traditional cooking utensils	42.888	5.8E(-11)	0.279
rural culture of today vs. country furniture	42.521	7E(-11)	0.278
rural culture of the past vs. embroidery[11]	41.179	1.4E(-10)	0.273
rural culture of today vs. agricultural tools	33.629	6.7E(-9)	0.247
traditions and customs of a village community vs. agricultural tools	30.921	2.7E(-8)	0.237
rural culture of today vs. photographs	28.515	9.3E(-8)	0.227
traditions and customs of a village community vs. lace	23.175	1.5E(-6)	0.205
traditions and customs of a village community vs. special dishes	19.361	1.1E(-5)	0.187
rural culture of the past vs. clothing[10]	19.234	1.2E(-5)	0.187
traditions and customs of a village community vs. clothing	18.333	1.8E(-5)	0.182
rural culture of today vs. traditional cooking utensils	16.302	5.4E(-5)	0.172
rural culture of today vs. embroidery	16.288	5.4E(-5)	0.172
rural culture of today vs. lace	13.976	0.0002	0.159
traditions and customs of a village community vs. photographs	13.853	0.0002	0.159
traditions and customs of a village community vs. embroidery	13.699	0.0002	0.158
rural culture of the past vs. photographs	9.707	0.002	0.133
rural culture of today vs. clothing	6.601	0.010	0.109

Tables 5.4 (above) and 5.5 (on the next page) present findings with regard to tangible and intangible heritage. As expected, there is an association of the rural character of folklore with material culture with "country furniture"[22] and "agricultural tools"[21] yielding the stronger links (Table 5.4 above). "Cooking utensils"[14] and other object-related phrases have also provided strong associations. "Lace"[12] and "embroidery"[11] in particular, appear to preserve a strong relation with "rural culture" in the visitor's mind despite the fact that in the recent past of the twentieth century it was urban upper and middle-class societies that included these activities in their cultural tradition. Surprisingly, a strong relation with body accessories, such as "clothing"[10], is not indicated. It seems that the image of traditional costumes is more broadly conceived by

museum visitors and is not so closely associated with rural life. Such an observation is of consequence in view of the folk life museum practice of presenting traditional "best" clothing in rural settings.

Table 5.5 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture with intangible heritage (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of today vs. city street culture[23]	75.930	2.9E(-18)	0.371
rural culture of today vs. birthday celebrations[29]	73.502	1E(-17)	0.365
rural culture of today vs. markets[24]	70.874	3.8E(-17)	0.359
rural culture of the past vs. festive celebrations	58.472	2.1E(-14)	0.326
rural culture of today vs. wedding receptions[30]	51.840	6E(-13)	0.307
rural culture of today vs. festive celebrations[31]	49.521	1.9E(-12)	0.300
traditions and customs of a village community vs. old traditions	33.775	6.2E(-9)	0.248
rural culture of today vs. special dishes[13]	30.140	4E(-8)	0.234
rural culture of the past vs. wedding receptions	28.355	1E(-7)	0.227
rural culture of the past vs. birthday celebrations	28.231	1.1E(-7)	0.226
rural culture of the past vs. music and songs[16]	27.787	1.3E(-7)	0.225
rural culture of the past vs. special dishes[13]	27.724	1.4E(-7)	0.224
rural culture of the past vs. markets	26.520	2.6E(-7)	0.219
rural culture of today vs. religion	22.396	2.2E(-6)	0.202
traditions and customs of a village community vs. music and songs	21.721	3.1E(-6)	0.199
rural culture of the past vs. old traditions[8]	21.328	3.9E(-6)	0.197
rural culture of the past vs. religion	19.739	8.9E(-6)	0.189
rural culture of the past vs. legends and fairy tales[9]	19.087	1.2E(-5)	0.186
rural culture of today vs. dialects	17.243	3.3E(-5)	0.177
rural culture of today vs. legends and fairy tales[9]	17.139	3.5E(-5)	0.176
rural culture of today vs. music and songs[16]	14.218	0.00016	0.161
rural culture of the past vs. city street culture	13.812	0.0002	0.158
traditions and customs of a village community vs. dialects	11.881	0.001	0.147
rural culture of the past vs. dialects	9.885	0.002	0.134

Weaker associations than those described in table 5.4 are observed between "rural culture" and "intangible heritage" (Table 5.5 above) although one could expect stronger links at least for intangible forms such as "legends and fairy tales"[9], "old traditions"[8], or even traditional "music and songs"[16], which have usually emerged from peasant societies. These findings may imply that visitors are not entirely conscious of a defined content of folklore. In addition, the fact that stronger associations are recorded between

intangible heritage and "rural culture of today" than "rural culture of the past" may be an indication that these museum visitors perceive intangible heritage as a lively part of the present.

In fact, the significant associations observed between "rural culture of today" and "city street culture"[23], "birthday celebrations"[29], "wedding receptions"[30] and "festive celebrations"[31] (Table 5.5) which at first sight may look irrelevant very likely indicate associations with the notion of "present folklore" and not with the past rural element so heavily represented in museums. In the case of any sort of celebrations however, the strong associations with "rural culture" might be explained by the fact that celebrations may constitute a larger fragment of culture in rural societies, which tend to observe, feel, mark and live personal or community events more deeply than is usual in the urban milieu (for example a wedding celebration might last for several days). In all cases, a strong association with the rural culture of the past is missing, although festivals and ritual wedding celebrations in the Western countryside of today in Greece and other EU states echo relevant activities of the past and are not modern inventions.

The strong link between "rural culture of today" and "markets"[24] seen by the respondents (Table 5.5) may be attributed to the familiar image farmer's markets present in both country and urban areas wherever small farmers or merchants sell their own-grown agricultural goods.

Rural culture data were cross-tabulated by gender, age, education, occupation and nationality but no significant variations were observed.

5.4.3 Local identity

A further aspect that could be examined here is the importance that visitors attribute to the "regional or local" characteristics of folk life. An overall 63.5% of respondents identified "local identity" as a significant feature of folklore and cross-tabulations between local identity and various variables, which bear a kind of locality aspect, revealed associations of various degrees.

Despite recent debates (Rosaldo 1988; Watts 1992; Knight 1994; Bourque 1997) which have challenged the idea of "the experience of space always being socially constructed" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 11) these museum visitors seem to reaffirm traditional

knowledge about the nature of social and spatial boundaries and to strongly relate the local to cultural identity, portraying therefore a neat relationship between spatial and cultural categories (Table 5.6 below).

Table 5.6 *Chi-squared tests in relation to local identity (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

statement	χ^2	p	V
local identity vs. cultural identity	155.784	9.4E(-36)	0.532
local identity vs. pre-industrial times[28]	90.203	2.1E(-21)	0.405
local identity vs. festive celebrations[31]	88.095	6.2E(-21)	0.400
local identity vs. lace[12]	82.583	1E(-19)	0.387
local identity vs. rural culture of the past[20]	80.649	2.7E(-19)	0.383
local identity vs. country furniture[22]	70.536	4.5E(-17)	0.358
local identity vs. birthday celebrations[29]	69.778	6.6E(-17)	0.356
local identity vs. rural culture of today	62.346	2.8E(-15)	0.336
local identity vs. embroidery[11]	61.466	4.5E(-15)	0.334
local identity vs. markets[24]	61.294	4.9(-15)	0.334
local identity vs. wedding receptions[30]	55.848	7.8E(-14)	0.318
local identity vs. agricultural tools	46.360	9.8E(-12)	0.290
local identity vs. dialects[7]	42.209	8.2E(-11)	0.277
local identity vs. special dishes[13]	38.355	5.8E(-10)	0.264
local identity vs. city street culture	38.543	5.4E(-10)	0.264
local identity vs. legends and fairy tales[9]	36.608	1.4E(-9)	0.258
local identity vs. music and songs[16]	24.896	6E(-7)	0.213
local identity vs. traditions and customs of a village community	24.744	6.5E(-7)	0.212
local identity vs. religion	24.294	8.3E(-7)	0.210
local identity vs. everyday life in the present	23.916	1E(-6)	0.208
local identity vs. everyday life in the past	22.241	2.4E(-6)	0.201
local identity vs. popular culture	19.490	1E(-5)	0.188
local identity vs. clothing[10]	17.923	2.3E(-5)	0.180
local identity vs. manners and habits of a nation	12.723	0.0004	0.152
local identity vs. nationalism	12.043	0.001	0.148
local identity vs. old traditions	11.662	0.01	0.145

Moving to more "concrete" folklore features it seems that in the process of defining local identity "festive celebrations"[31] hold the reins (Table 5.6). Shared rituals, festivities, parades and other social manifestations of cultural performance which take

place in a particular "locale" have constantly served to reinforce community cohesion and therefore have been expressed by visitors as the most important element in asserting local identity. "Birthday celebrations"[29] and "wedding receptions"[30] have also been related to local identity on the one hand because of the different ways these events might be experienced in different places and on the other hand because they also provide a setting in which social interactions are constituted. Though birthdays usually retain a personal character, a wedding is often a big event, especially in smaller communities where a variety of customs and traditions lend a particular regional colour to an otherwise private affair.

The high values recorded in relation to "pre-industrial times"[28] and "rural culture of the past"[20] may suggest that modern people perceive that the sense of locality has been more central in people's lives during the pre-industrial peasant past than nowadays when contemporary notions of unification and globalization have perhaps diminished the importance of locality.

The fact that "markets"[24], which also recorded a strong relation when cross-tabulated with "rural culture of today" (Table 5.5), present strong associations with "local identity" (Table 5.6) confirm the hypothesis that when referring to markets within the frame of folklore, visitors rather tend to think of small local businesses which produce commodities - symbols of local pride and tradition - rather than of large corporations or shopping malls that play a distinctive role in the global economy.

Seen in the same light, associations between "special dishes"[13] with both "rural culture" (Table 5.5) and "local identity" (Table 5.6) could be straightforwardly explained by the fact that traditionally, local cuisine has been always part of regional culture with many areas producing their own distinguishing foods. Besides, the worldwide phenomenon of the travel and tourist industry which advertises not only the cultural facilities but also the gastronomic pleasures of a region may have also contributed to keeping intact the links between "special dishes" and regional culture in the public's mind.

"Dialects"[7] as well as other features of intangible heritage such as "music and songs"[16] and "legends and fairy tales"[9] which have yielded weak associations when examined through the prism of rural culture (Table 5.5) offer stronger links when seen from the "local identity" perspective. This may suggest that visitors consider the sense of "locality" more important than the sense of "rurality" with regard to various folklore

forms and genres. A notion of "locality" may affirm traditions in the 21st century mind more than one of "rurality".

The observed link between "local identity" and "religion"[32] could be perhaps explained if considered in parallel with the events of local festive celebrations in many European countries. In many cases these local festivities have a religious starting point and are sacred to the memory of the local saint or to the church calendar as in Lenten festivals. The participation of the local community in these events strengthens identity and community solidarity. In other cases local churches may have functioned as sources of "local" identity in motivating people to identify themselves as a group through a particular religion.

Strong associations were also observed amongst cross-tabulations with material culture related characteristics such as "lace"[12], "country furniture"[22] and "embroidery"[11] (Table 5.6 above). These have also presented a strong association with rural culture and therefore could be considered to play a significant role in constructing a sense of place that people can observe or acquire by living in a place.

Other cross-tabulations such as "local identity" and traditional "clothing"[10] which would be reasonably expected to offer stronger links, yielded weaker associations (Table 5.6 above). This circumstance, but also the general trend observed throughout the results of having many weak associations (V>0.3 indicates weakness) may be indicative of the visitors' low perception of present day complex folkloric concepts which, like Russian dolls, can contain several individual concepts.

More specifically, while visitors understand and identify folkloric features in isolation, they seem not to be able to put them in a wider context by relating them to more complex notions such as local identity. It could be said these later notions are likely to be appreciated by museum visitors not in depth but rather superficially. This shallow understanding of the notion of folklore may be influenced by the fact that folklore was established as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century and in some countries it is still struggling to settle itself as a proper scientific subject. Also it must be remembered that this sample includes 67% of people with a university degree and that educational practices tend to shift the mind away from consideration of the everyday. Finally, the radical globalisation changes that took place during the late twentieth century which brought the global into the local and created new forms of cultures might have started to have an impact on these museum visitors who, in some cases, may

demonstrate a kind of "negation" of regional identities (Walsh 1992, 136) instead of romanticizing everything local and regional. Perhaps the trend of not strongly valuing traditionally regional features as such implies that in a world of difference and diversity the above respondents cease to value "locality" as an isolating boundary of their culture but, rather, form a different sense of place where they can live in both the local and the global and share a new globalised culture that values plurality and socio-cultural inclusion (Storey 2003).

5.4.4 Past life

Folklore is an area of social life that has been exploited throughout its existence by various stakeholders. Museums, as largely "dominant ideology" institutions (Merriman 2000, 15), have exerted a definite influence on the museum public's concept of folklore by emphasizing certain aspects and neglecting others. More specifically, as already discussed (chapter 4), European museums tend to embrace the stereotype that folklore hails from, and mainly flourished and died in, bygone eras so ignoring today's folklorists' inquiry which is not restricted to the study of the past alone. This condition is perhaps influential in shaping the thoughts of the interviewed museum visitors who also tended to conceive major parts of folklore as a piece of past culture.

This misunderstanding is especially conspicuous in the survey results when museum visitors, both when choosing from a predetermined list of options as well as when attempting to give their own definition of folklore, sketch a straightforward relationship between folklore and the past (Table 5.7 below).

Table 5.7 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the past (Source Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about old traditions	493	89.5
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the past	492	89.3
Folk life is about rural culture of the past	383	69.5
Folk life is about pre-industrial times	239	43.4
Mentioned the word "past" in folklore definition	183	33.2
Folk life is about a past studied by academics	112	20.3

Almost 90% of the respondents reported that folk life is about "old traditions" and "everyday life of the ordinary man and woman in the past" whilst approximately 70% agreed that folk life is about "rural culture in the past" (Table 5.7). Moreover 33% of the visitors referred to the past when asked to give spontaneously their own definition of folk life (Table IV.12 in Appendix IV).

A sample of these verbatim responses is offered indicatively below:

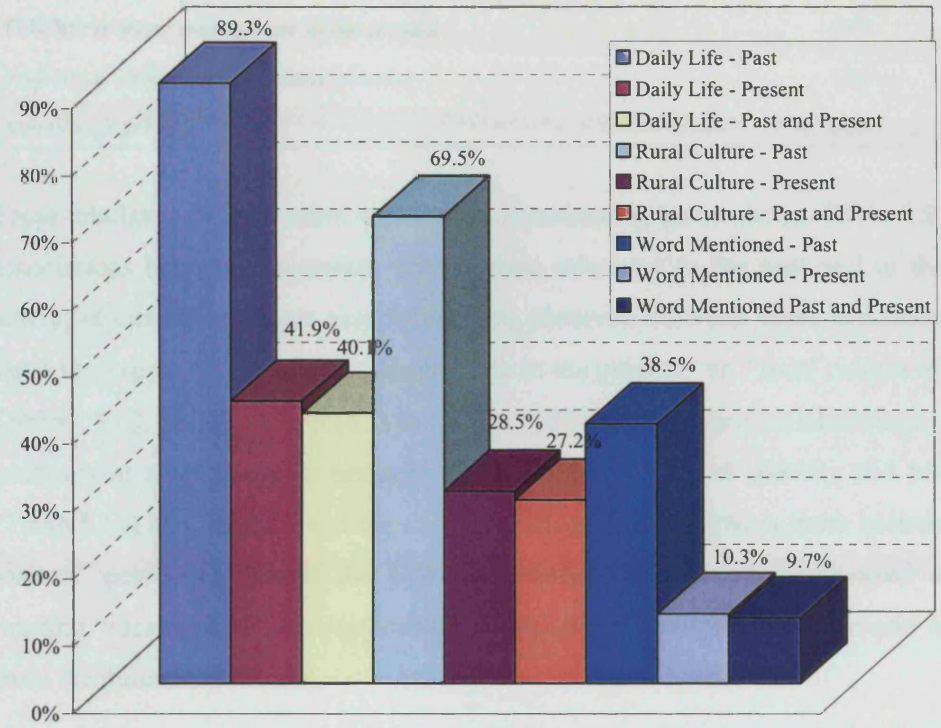
- "how people lived in the past"
- "life in recent past"
- "the discipline that studies daily life of the people in the past through collective memories"
- "the discipline that studies everyday life of the people in the recent past"
- "a study of how all different kinds of people live during the past and recent past, how they worked, lived, ate, sang, etc."
- "the past of ordinary people"
- "the traditional way of living of our ancestors"
- "the revival of the past"
- "everyday life of people in the past"
- "manners and habits, traditions of all people in the past"
- "popular and day by day life in the past"
- "life style of the past"

These orientations towards the past become more evident when contrasting statements refering to the past with those that refer to the present (Figure 5.6 on the next page). In fact, less than half of the respondents who selected "everyday life" or "rural culture in the past" as the content of folk life chose respective statements about the present, whilst just one fourth (8.9%) of the visitors who considered "past" as a characteristic of folklore in their definition, mentioned "present" as related to folklore (Table IV.12, Appendix IV). Moreover, in considering the number of respondents who chose both "past" and "present" as important to folklore with those who chose "present" alone, it was seen that there were no significant differences, a fact which implies that the visitors who did not recognize the past as a major characteristic of folklore were very few.

Undoubtedly, this orientation to the past in thoughts may be attributed both to popular notions of folklore as something irrelevant to contemporary urban societies and its

current representation by museums and heritage organizations as a romanticized narrative of the past.

Figure 5.6 *Folklore in relation to past and present (Source: Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each column*



Folklore's 19th century establishment as a discipline in an era of change and transformation, which aimed at the recording, preservation and safeguarding of a past that was seen as disappearing has become influential in attitude formation. The first folk life museums were formed as a disconcerted response to the threats of abrupt societal changes. This history has contributed to a museological imbalance between past and present so that, despite the importance that current folklorists attribute to dynamic patterns and present ways of life, museums, and consequently their visitors, tend to continue to stick stubbornly to a preconceived set of stereotypes.

In spite of this easy point of view, approximately one third of the sample perceived that folklore is related to present day cultural phenomena such as "city street culture", "movies" or "popular culture" and 41.9 percent agreed that folklore is about "everyday life in the present". However, only 8.9 percent mentioned the word "present" in their definition of folklore (Table 5.8 on the next page and Table IV.12 in Appendix IV).

Table 5.8 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the present (Source: Qs 3 and 13 the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the present	231	41.9
Folk life is about city street culture	187	33.9
Folk life is about movies	173	31.4
Folk life is about rural culture of the present	157	28.5
Folk life is about popular culture of today	152	27.6
Mentioned: present	49	8.9

Cross-tabulated data revealed some more illuminating associations. Table 5.9 presents associations between statements with a clear reference to the past and to the present where, obviously, stronger associations are observed between cross-tabulations of the same time span (for example "everyday life in the present" vs. "rural culture of today"). Tables 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12 (on pages 183-184) present relationships between past/present and intangible heritage (Table 5.10), notions of identity and nationalism (Table 5.11) and, material culture (Table 5.12). In order to give a more holistic view of visitors' perceptions about the past and present, data already mentioned under the heading "rural culture" are represented in this section however, they are now examined from the dimension of time.

Table 5.9 *Time dimension: "past" and "present" (Source Q 3 the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
everyday life in the present vs. rural culture of today	160.231	1E(-36)	0.536
rural culture of the past vs. pre-industrial times	73.362	1E(-17)	0.365
rural culture of today vs. pre-industrial times	73.114	1.2E(-17)	0.364
everyday life in the past vs. rural culture of the past	35.864	2.1E(-9)	0.255
everyday life in the past vs. pre-industrial times	26.713	2.4E(-7)	0.220
everyday life in the past vs. rural culture of today	7.233	0.007	0.115

These tables (5.10, 5.11 & 5.12) reveal a consistent difference in the statistical outcomes between "pre-industrial times" and "everyday life in the past". For example if we examine the feature of "local identity"[27] (Table 5.11) in relation to the idea of the past we come to the following conclusion: strong links are observed not between "local identity" and the general idea of "everyday life in the past" (where actually only 4 % of the variation in frequencies of the people who chose "local identity" as relevant to folk

life can be explained by their preference to the past, V= 0.201), but between "local identity" and the specified "pre-industrial era" (where 16.5 % of the "local identity" responses can be justified by the corresponding preferences of "pre-industrial times", V= 0.405).

This tendency to relate both intangible and tangible folkloric culture to "pre-industrial times" rather than to "everyday life in the past" in general, is observed throughout the results, perhaps implying that visitors consciously make a segregation between the general notion of the past and that of a pre-industrialized past. This may suggest that it is perhaps this pre-industrialised past that these museum visitors believe is closely related to folklore, so making it even more distant to their present day lives. The hypothesis that "everyday life in the past" may be interpreted by visitors as the very recent past, perhaps that of late 20th century, may provide an explanation for cases where there are differences between chi-squared values of "pre-industrial times" and "everyday life in the past" (all items in Tables 5.10 and 5.11 and all items but clothing in Table 5.12).

Let us now consider the chi-squared values between "rural culture of the past" and "pre-industrial times". What we realise is that in several cases ("festive celebrations"[31], "traditions and customs of a village community"[2], "religion"[32], "music and songs"[16], "old traditions"[8] all in Table 5.10; "local identity"[27] in Table 5.11; as well as "traditional cooking utensils"[14] and "clothing"[10] in Table 5.12) the values are somewhat similar. This observation together with the fact that the word "pre-industrial" implies rural rather than urban environments makes a further "time depth" hypothesis more likely. In fact visitors may relate "pre-industrial times" to rural societies and it is that rural orientation they have indirectly bestowed on most of the examined items within the frame of folklore. This latest consideration explains cases where strong associations are recorded both with "pre-industrial times" and intangible "rural culture of today" ("wedding receptions"[30], "birthday celebrations"[29], "festive celebrations"[31], "religion"[32], "movies"[15], "markets"[24] all in Table 5.10; "local identity"[27] in Table 5.11; and "photographs"[17] in Table 5.12).

Interestingly, museum visitors, possibly influenced by the image reproduced by folklore museums, seem to associate mainly material culture elements to the past whereas they connect intangible heritage both to past and present. Thus, if we first examine material culture data, we realize that "country furniture", "lace", "traditional cooking utensils",

"agricultural tools", "embroidery" and "clothing" are more firmly associated to the past whereas only "photographs"[17] are related to the present (Table 5.12).

Items of intangible heritage on the other hand (Table 5.10) draw a different picture with only "manners and habits of a nation"[1] and "old traditions"[8] associated with the past alone whilst "festive celebrations", "wedding receptions", "traditions and customs of a village community", "legends and fairy tales", "religion", and "music and songs" present associations both to past and present. "Birthday celebrations", "markets", "dialects", "special dishes", "movies", and "city street culture" – the last two for the reason of their obvious contemporary nature - appear to have stronger associations with the present rather than with the past. The circumstance that "dialects"[7] are not thought of as connected to the "everyday life in the past" is curious but may be explained by the fact that dialects are a vivid part of today's culture and local politics in several European areas (eg. Wales, Basque country) and it may be this dynamic presence of dialects in today regional culture that prevails in visitors' minds. The lack of statistical significance at $p<0.05$, for the cases of "old traditions"[8] with "everyday life in the present", is perhaps indicative of visitors' difficulty in distinguishing old practices in 21st century life as it is lived despite the fact that many old traditions are still alive today even if they are "disguised" as new ones (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). This is especially so in the case of intangible heritage.

The notions of "local" and "cultural identity" record associations to past and present alike. The concept of "nationalism" does not seem to be affected by time dimensions whilst "popular culture", as expected, has a strong inclination towards the present.

Lastly, all data were cross-tabulated by gender, age, education, occupation and nationality but no significant variances were recorded.

Table 5.10 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between intangible heritage and past/present (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), where EL = Everyday Life and where RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to everyday life and the second in rural culture, N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
Folk life is about:	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
birthday celebrations[29]	31.832 / 73.502	1.7E(-8) / 1E(-17)	0.240 / 0.365	5.155 / 28.231	0.23 / 1.1E(-7)	0.097 / 0.226	82.145	1.3E(-19)	0.386
markets[24]	39.857 / 70.874	2.7E(-10) / 3.8E(-17)	0.269 / 0.359	6.959 / 26.520	0.008 / 2.6E(-7)	0.112 / 0.219	74.584	5.8E(-18)	0.368
movies[15]	43.543 / 49.812	4.1E(-11) / 1.7E(-12)	0.281 / 0.301	9.761 / 17.114	0.002 / 0.133	3.5E(-5) / 0.176	66.295	3.9E(-16)	0.347
festive celebrations [31]	25.984 / 49.521	3.4E(-7) / 1.9E(-12)	0.217 / 0.300	16.936 / 58.472	3.9E(-5) / 2.1E(-14)	0.175 / 0.326	66.261	3.9E(-16)	0.347
wedding receptions[30]	20.222 / 51.840	6.9E(-6) / 6E(-13)	0.192 / 0.307	6.930 / 28.355	0.011 / 1E(-7)	0.108 / 0.227	62.134	3.2E(-15)	0.336
traditions and customs of a village community[2]	12.496 / 42.783	0,001 / 6.1E(-11)	0.151 / 0.279	5.862 / 67.093	0.015 / 2.6E(-16)	0.103 / 0.349	57.303	3.7E(-14)	0.322
dialects[7]	8.994 / 17.243	0.003 / 3.3E(-5)	0.128 / 0.177	3.312 / 9.885	0.069 / 0.002	0.078 / 0.134	55.033	1.2E(-13)	0.316
special dishes	13.233 / 30.140	0.001 / 4E(-8)	0.155 / 0.234	6.728 / 27.724	0.009 / 1.4E(-7)	0.110 / 0.224	54.241	1.8E(-13)	0.314
legends and fairy tales	15.055 / 17.139	0.0001 / 3.5E(-5)	0.165 / 0.176	15.231 / 19.087	9.5E(-5) / 1.2E(-5)	0.166 / 0.186	41.235	1.4E(-10)	0.274
city street culture	69.140 / 75.930	9.2E(-17) / 2.9E(-18)	0.354 / 0.371	16.650 / 13.812	4.5E(-5) / 2E(-4)	0.174 / 0.158	37.848	7.6E(-10)	0.262
religion [32]	6.903 / 22.396	0.009 / 2.2E(-6)	0.112 / 0.202	7.240 / 19.739	0.007 / 8.9E(-6)	0.115 / 0.189	26.801	2.3E(-7)	0.221
music and songs[16]	16.843 / 14.218	4E(-5) / 0.00016	0.175 / 0.161	12.061 / 27.787	0.001 / 1.3E(-7)	0.148 / 0.225	25.774	3.8E(-7)	0.216
old traditions[8]	0.424 / 4.028	0.515 / 0.045	0.028 / 0.086	9.290 / 21.328	0.02 / 3.9E(-6)	0.130 / 0.197	18.026	2.1E(-5)	0.181
manners and habits of a nation[1]	4.639 / 3.809	0.031 / 0.051	0.092 / 0.083	20.036 / 5.010	7.6E(-6) / 0.025	0.191 / 0.095	14.910	0.0001	0.165

Table 5.11 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between notions of local identity, cultural identity, nationalism, popular culture and past/present (Source: Q 3of the questionnaire, Appendix II), where EL= Everyday Life and where RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to everyday life and the second in rural culture, N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
Folk life is about:	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
local identity[27]	23.916 / 62.346	1E(-6) / 2.8E(-15)	0.208 / 0.336	22.241 / 80.649	2.4E(-6) / 2.7E(-19)	0.201 / 0.383	90.202	2.1E(-21)	0.405
cultural Identity	33.450 / 40.671	7.3E(-9) / 1.8E(-10)	0.246 / 0.272	10.214 / 28.152	0.001 / 1E(-7)	0.136 / 0.226	51.051	9E(-13)	0.304
nationalism	5.957 / 14.355	0.015 / 1.5E(-4)	0.104 / 0.162	0.397 / 3.409	0.529 / 0.065	0.027 / 0.079	43.166	5E(-11)	0.280
popular Culture	168.337 / 261.608	1.7E(-38) / 7.6E(-59)	0.553 / 0.690	9.694 / 10.202	0.002 / 0.001	0.133 / 0.136	33.187	8.4E(-9)	0.246

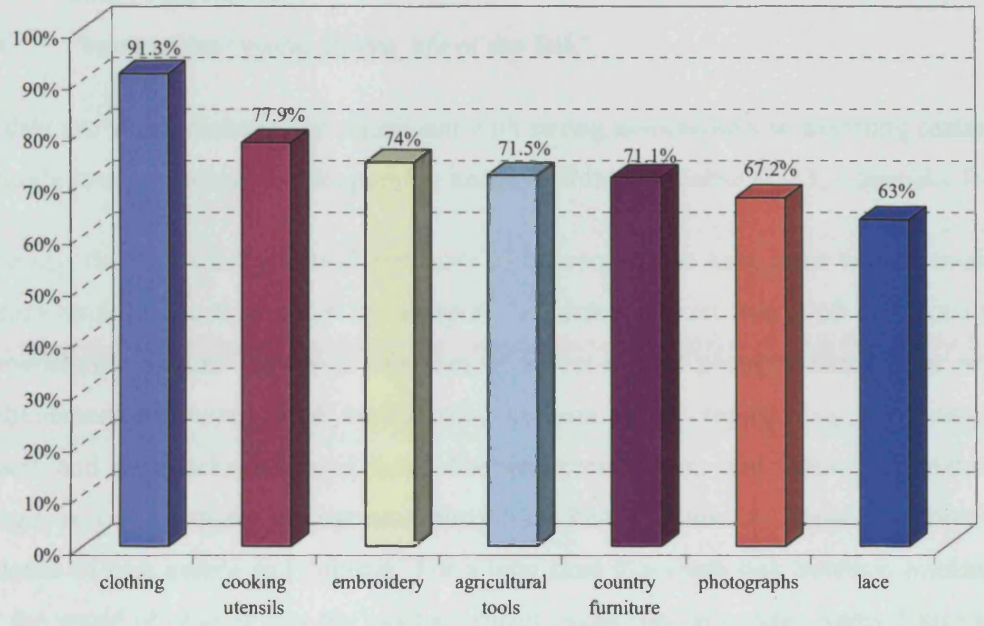
Table 5.12 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between features of material culture and past/present (Source: Q 3of the questionnaire, Appendix II), where EL = Everyday Life and where RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to everyday life and the second in rural culture, N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
Folk life is about:	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
country furniture	17.033 / 42.521	3.7E(-5) / 6.9E(-11)	0.176 / 0.278	36.890 / 106.465	1.2(-9) / 5.8E(-25)	0.259 / 0.440	79.398	5E(-19)	0.380
lace	5.015 / 13.976	0.025 / 0.0002	0.095 / 0.159	33.074 / 47.072	8.9E(-9) / 6.8E(-12)	0.245 / 0.392	71.463	2.8E(-17)	0.360
traditional cooking utensils[14]	3.618 / 16.302	0.057 / 5.4E(-5)	0.081 / 0.172	35.424 / 67.279	2.6E(-9) / 2.4E(-16)	0.254 / 0.349	68.301	1.4E(-16)	0.352
agricultural tools	12.958 / 33.629	0.001 / 6.6E(-9)	0.153 / 0.247	27.525 / 101.451	1.5E(-7) / 7.3E(-25)	0.224 / 0.429	64.279	1E(-15)	0.342
embroidery	5.540 / 16.288	0.019 / 5.4E(-5)	0.100 / 0.172	30.902 / 41.179	2.7E(-8) / 1.4E(-10)	0.237 / 0.273	61.605	4.2E(-15)	0.334
photographs[17]	22.637 / 28.515	1.9E(-6) / 9.3E(-8)	0.203 / 0.227	9.703 / 9.707	0.002 / 0.002	0.133 / 0.133	35.404	2.7E(-9)	0.253
clothing[10]	6.185 / 6.601	0.013 / 0.010	0.106 / 0.109	28.152 / 19.234	1.1E(-7) / 1.2E(-5)	0.226 / 0.187	20.408	6.2E(-6)	0.192

5.4.5 *Material culture*

Figure 5.7 aggregates all visitor linkages regarding material culture and folk life as listed in question 3 of the questionnaire (Appendix II). Object related statements were always selected by more than 60% percent of respondents, so putting concrete material culture items first in visitors' characterisations in understanding folk life. Clothing, in particular, is the most popular reply (91.3%).

Figure 5.7 *Folklore and material culture (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*



It was also the second most cited response (44.2%) to the open-ended question 2 of the questionnaire "What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?" with, in response, the word "objects" holding the first position (51.0%) (Table IV.11, Appendix IV). This preference is clearly illustrated by the following randomly selected responses below:

- "costumes and objects from a distinctive region of a distinctive people"
- "traditional costumes and objects of daily life"
- "traditional costumes, jewellery, food"
- "art, tools, clothing, household items"
- "objects of life of the people in the past"
- "photographs, objects, videos"

- "objects, agricultural tools, photographs, songs and music, documentaries"
- "music, theatre and games, household objects, garments and traditional dress, work trends, community gatherings and life in general, cuisine, local festivals and celebrations, worship"
- "representation of social, political and economic life, technology, costume/dress, food, utensils, pictures, photographs, books, etc."
- "social history items, artefacts from the past"
- "artefacts of daily life, food and its preparation, clothing, art, weapons (for hunting or protection), art, economic exchange, religion...arranged in some kind of chronology"
- "items of the typical all-day life of the folk"

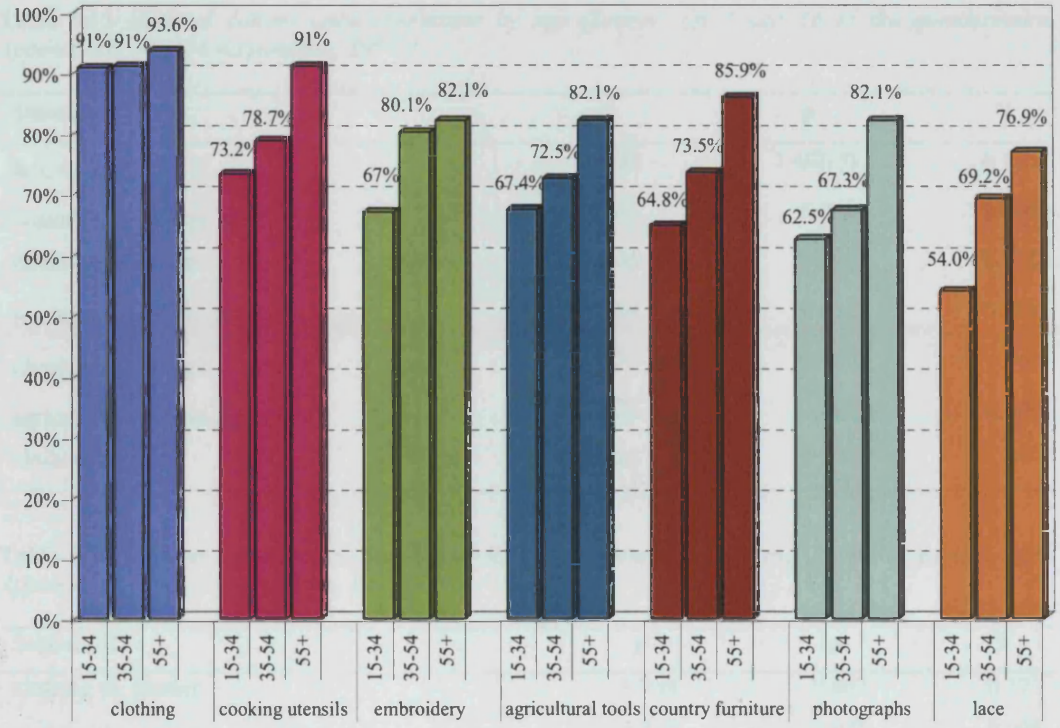
All data are highly statistically significant with strong associations so asserting material culture's strong influence on the popular image of folk life (Table IV.13, Appendix IV).

Certainly, the factor that physical remnants of the recent past have been widely used in folklife museums in their effort to interpret the historical past may well influence the overwhelming visitors' intuitive selection of object-related phrases. Since their early establishment museums have traditionally become major repositories for movable objects and have acknowledged the collection, preservation and display of material culture as one of their fundamental functions. People come to them for concrete evidence of past events and cultures. For a long time this close link between museums and the world of objects was the most prevalent museological image (Asma 2001) and only in recent decades has there been a debate around the "isness" or "aboutness" of the objects (Vergo 1989b; Weil 1990; Karp and Lavine 1991). However, despite these concerns about whether objects should represent ideas interpreted in a context of use or whether they should be interpreted as simple artefacts, it could be said that years of "power of the objects" in museums may have imposed their supremacy as primary evidence in visitors' minds. Furthermore, the ownership and appreciation of "significant objects" with an "antique", "aesthetic" "socio-economic" or other appeal that have historically made museums prominent icons of nations and communities (Pearce 1998; Welsh 2005) may be considered another factor responsible for the pervasive authority of material culture in the public's mind.

The intimate relationship between museums and material culture which, as long as interpreted from a multidisciplinary perspective, provides meaningful evidence to

support historical arguments (Lubar and Kingery 1993) has affected not only the interpretation of the past itself but the public's understanding of the past (Schlereth 1990). Hence, irrespective of the way folklife museums choose to communicate material evidence –this being either static, three dimensional enlightened by other documentary resources or programmes of drama and object handling - material life remains have a powerful impact on visitors so, as the survey results suggest, forming their main frame of reference within folklore.

Figure 5.8 *Folklore and material culture by age (Source: Qs 3 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II; percentages given are within age categories)*



Finally, the notion that the concept of materiality suggests a whole and fundamental aspect of human experience in the sense that individuals relate themselves to specific objects (Gell 1998; Pearce 1998) may provide another powerful explanation for material culture being a determining factor in the visitor responses to this bank of questions.

No variances were revealed when data were examined by education or nationality. Age however, seemed to play a slight role in visitors' preferences for material culture in the sense that the older the person the more likely s/he was to choose object-related statements (Figure 5.8). Nevertheless, taking into consideration that visitors selected the option "clothing" regardless of their age, it could perhaps be assumed that the observed

pattern is not indicative of a general trend in this population but is, rather, related to the remaining offered options ("embroidery", "lace", "traditional cooking utensils", "agricultural tools" and "country furniture"). These objects could simply have been more familiar to older rather than younger generations and therefore more likely to be selected by them. "Clothes" on the other hand, as the most extensively displayed objects in folk life museums, dominate visitors' minds as the most prominent and distinctive material resources for folklore, regardless of age differences.

All data but "clothing" are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ when cross-tabulated by age (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 *Material culture cross-tabulations by age (Source: Qs 3 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 2*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
lace vs. age	19.000	7.4E(-5)	0.186
country furniture vs. age	14.001	0.001	0.160
embroidery vs. age	13.306	0.001	0.156
traditional cooking utensils vs. age	11.224	0.004	0.143
photographs vs. age	10.455	0.005	0.138
agricultural tools vs. age	6.479	0.389	0.109
clothing vs. age	0.618	0.734	0.034

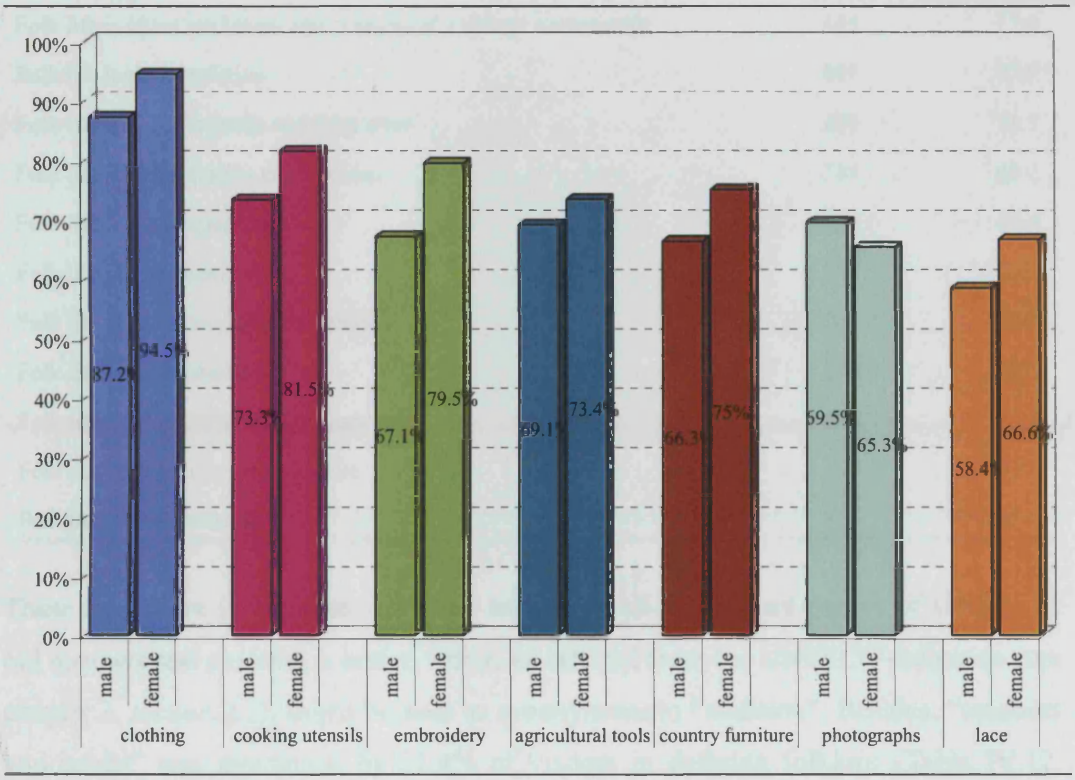
Table 5.14 *Material culture cross-tabulations by gender (Source: Qs 3 and 20 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
clothing vs. gender	8.948	0.003	0.127
traditional cooking utensils vs. gender	5.353	0.021	0.099
embroidery vs. gender	10.986	0.001	0.141
agricultural tools[21] vs. gender	1.199	0.274	0.047
country furniture vs. gender	5.060	0.024	0.096
Photographs[17] vs. gender	1.132	0.287	0.045
lace vs. gender	3.843	0.051	0.084

Very slight variations were observed when data were examined by gender where women, apart from the case of "photographs", seem to choose object-related items at higher percentages than men (Figure 5.9). In the cases of "agricultural tools"[21], and "photographs"[17] there is no statistical significance and the remainder of the results, though statistically significant, present very weak associations (Table 5.14). These

outcomes therefore do not appear to provide any substantial support regarding any relationship between the gender dimension and specific objects. Thus, no firm conclusions can be drawn in relation to the interpretative accounts devoted to this relationship which have broadly suggested that women relate to objects emotionally whereas men do so instrumentally (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Dittmar 1991; Pearce 1998).

Figure 5.9 *Folklore and material culture by gender (Source: Qs 3 and 20 of the questionnaire, Appendix II; percentages given are within age categories)*



5.4.6 Intangible heritage

We have already examined museum visitors' attitudes towards material items with respect to folklore; let us now consider how they relate folklore with the intangible parameter.

On the positive side of the balance sheet a large segment of visitors attribute intangible elements to folklore so identifying it as not entirely embodied in material things but rather as dynamically linked to intangible culture activities (Table 5.15). The majority of visitors (89.5%) appraised "old traditions" as the foremost feature of folklore with "manners and habits", and "music and songs" to follow at 84.4% and 81.1%

respectively. "Movies" came last with regard to visitors' preferences as related to folklore with 31.4%, probably because of their contemporary character.

Table 5.15 *Folk life and intangible heritage (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about old traditions	493	89.5
Folk life is about manners and habits of a nation	465	84.4
Folk life is about music and songs	447	81.1
Folk life is about traditions and customs of a village community	424	77.0
Folk life is about religion	407	73.9
Folk life is about legends and fairy tales	406	73.7
Folk life is about festive celebrations	381	69.1
Folk life is about special dishes	355	64.4
Folk life is about dialects	295	53.5
Folk life is about wedding receptions	291	52.8
Folk life is about markets	238	43.2
Folk life is about birthday celebrations	195	35.4
Folk life is about city street culture	187	33.9
Folk life is about movies	173	31.4

These results are in complete harmony with the well-established notion of folklore as old manners and customs, a notion which, as inferred from the UNESCO definition (see chapter 2, section 2.2), might be seen as synonymous to "tradition". Besides, "manners and habits" was mentioned by 21.4% of visitors in defining folklore (Table IV.12, Appendix IV) whilst when visitors were asked to give their personal views about tradition, they mostly referred to transmission of "culture", "customs" and/or "manners" through the generations (71.8%, Table IV.3 in Appendix IV). The following verbatim responses are offered to exemplify the above attitudes regarding intangible heritage, time depth and tradition:

Folk life is

- "the discipline that studies the manners and customs of a region, and the relations amongst people, the way of life"

- "the discipline that studies the traditions, the manners and habits of an area in order to keep alive the recent past and to give information about the habits and daily life of people in the recent past"
- "a concise term which includes the habits, the manners, the customs the culture of a people both in the past and present. Folklore is evolving along with social changes and transformations"
- "manners and customs of a people, way of life, thought, language, eating habits"
- "the discipline that studies traditions, habits, way of life of people in the past, peasants and bourgeois"
- "the entirety of traditions and habits of a people"
- "a discipline with two parts, one practical (objects, tools, furniture, clothes, costumes, etc.) and one theoretical (fairy tales, customs and manners, weddings, social events)"
- "the customs and traditions that give meaning and pleasure and reassurance about everyday life in communities where people were not as modern as today"
- "customs and mores, behaviours, daily life in the past and present"
- "the same with tradition"

Tradition is

- "customs and practices handed down through generations"
- "continuation of good values and practices from the past to present"
- "something that has been passed down from generation to generation, within either a family or community or region"
- "the transmitted culture (beliefs, social structure, habits) from the past to the future"
- "all customs and mores preserved through time which have been handed in to us by our ancestors in order to preserve them and to hand them in to future generations"
- "the oral transmission from generation to generation of manners and habits"
- "activities or behaviours that are practiced in a community or a nation and that have been practiced for many, many years"
- "what we take from our ancestors"

- "ways you do things because your family did them that way for years"
- "a customary way of doing things handed down through generations"

This close bonding of the intangible aspect of folklore with the idea of "transmitting" from generation to generation has been emphasised by Georges Condominas, the French cultural anthropologist, who has clearly stated that "what is intangible is transmission" (Condominas 2004, 26).

When the intangible heritage related statements were cross-tabulated they all yielded statistically significant results of varying strength (see Table IV.4 in Appendix IV).

Statistically significant results were also yielded, when intangible and tangible related items were cross-tabulated. All results have an associated probability $p<0.05$; in fact the majority are statistically significant at $p<0.0001$ (that is 1 in 10,000 level of probability). The Cramer's V associations range from 0.100-0.398 depending on the items tested, with two examples only ("religion vs. embroidery" and "movies vs. embroidery") presenting very weak associations below 0.100 (Table IV.5 in Appendix IV). These findings are of primary interest as they strongly indicate that visitors consider tangible and intangible as two different things which however are closely interlinked and in many cases inter-affected. The findings are also quite in line with the perception that tangible and intangible heritage are "the two sides of the same coin: both carry meaning and the embedded memory of humanity" (Bouchenaki 2004, 10; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b). Besides, for many people(s) tangible and intangible are so closely interdependent that their separation seems artificial and meaningless (Seitel 2002; Kurin 2004)

When visitors were asked to describe the content of a typical folk life exhibition they did mention pure intangible forms of heritage (11.7% referred to traditional entertainment, 7% to any kind of rituals and 3.6% to any oral communicative forms; see already discussed Table IV.11 in Appendix IV) though to a much lesser degree than material culture. This circumstance provides further support to the argument that museum display settings may influence the way visitors conceptualise folklore.

As is also reflected in the quotes reported previously the most frequent reply when visitors were asked to give their own definition of folklore (Table IV.12, Appendix IV) was "way of life" (58.3%) whereas the statement "everyday life of the ordinary person in the past" came third in their preferences when selecting the item most relevant to

folklore from a multiple choice list (89.3%) -"clothing" (91.3%), a material culture characteristic and "old traditions" (89.5%), an intangible culture feature, were the first and second choices. The selection of "everyday life" -though of course the past one – as well as the mention of the term "way of life" which embraces a whole system of tangible and intangible "products" (and has been widely used to denote "folklore") places extra pressure on museums which now need to incorporate intangible culture phenomena in representing cultures. This is of particular salience in multicultural societies where museums are asked to represent all their local ethnic communities. This is a frequent element from folklore so this finding is important.

Additional findings regarding the content of folklore with respect to further abstract ideas are given in Table 5.16 below.

Many visitors associated folklore with cultural and local identity (73.3% and 63.5% respectively); the latter has been discussed in detail earlier in this chapter with regard to Table 5.6. Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics were calculated for "cultural identity" and various variables of a tangible and intangible nature. All results were found to be statistically significant at $p<0.01$ and the strongest association $V= 0.532$ was recorded between "cultural identity" and "local identity" (Table IV.6, Appendix IV). "Everyday life of ordinary people in the present" was selected by 41.9% of people whereas only 27.6% appreciated "popular culture of today" as related to folklore, possibly because of the close link of the term with the present and contemporary. Predictably, chi-squared tests implemented for "popular culture of today" revealed very strong associations with features that bear a contemporary character, $V= 0.690$ for "rural culture of today"; $V= 0.553$ for "everyday life in the present", $V= 0.449$ for "city street culture"; $V= 0.361$ for "movies" and $V= 0.330$ for "markets" (Table IV.7, Appendix IV).

Table 5.16 *Ranked items as more closely related to folklore (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the past	492	89.3
Folk life is about cultural identity	404	73.3
Folk life is about local identity	350	63.5
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the present	231	41.9
Folk life is about popular culture of today	152	27.6
Folk life is about nationalism	140	25.4
Folk life is about a past studied by academics	112	20.3
Folk life is about something that belongs to museums	92	16.7

Finally, only a quarter of visitors interviewed thought that folklore has a link to nationalism. Even fewer connected folklore with museums (20.3%) or with academic studies (16.7%) (Table 5.16). In fact, a strong association (V= 0.499) was recorded between "a past studied by academics" and "something that belongs to museums". This connection may be indicative of the impression visitors have of museums, particularly if their methods of presentation still relate them closer to academic institutions than to informal learning environments (see Critical Reviews chapter). Chi-squared statistics between various items and "nationalism", "something that belongs to museums" and "a past studied by academics" are offered in Tables IV.8, IV.9 and IV.10 in Appendix IV.

Table 5.17 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between intangible nature factors and age (Source: Qs 3 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 2*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
markets vs. age	18.280	0.0001	0.182
a past studied by academics vs. age	14.153	0.001	0.160
city street culture vs. age	13.606	0.001	0.157
birthday celebrations vs. age	12.348	0.002	0.150
nationalism vs. age	8.827	0.012	0.127
traditions and customs of a village community vs. age	8.823	0.012	0.127
something that belongs to museums vs. age	8.465	0.015	0.124
movies vs. age	8.003	0.018	0.121
special dishes vs. age	6.021	0.049	0.105

Data regarding intangible heritage were cross-tabulated by age, gender, education, occupation and nationality. Gender, occupation and education do not seem to play a crucial role in visitors' selections. Age and nationality provided some curious but not very significant associations and definitely not in a consistent pattern throughout the results. For the case of age, wherever statistical significance was recorded (Table 5.17), the older the person, the more likely he or she was to select an item of intangible nature.

Table 5.18 shows where significant relations occurred regarding the impact of nationality on intangible heritage parameters. Data derived from the open-ended questions regarding visitors opinions about folklore and tradition were also examined from the point of view of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation. Those results which are statistically significant are presented in tables IV.14 and IV.15 in Appendix IV. In general terms, no significant associations were observed with the exception of nationality where stronger associations have been recorded. As in Table 5.18 these differences may be ascribed to the different way folklore is assimilated in

different countries. A much larger sample however, would be required in order to further illuminate this issue.

Table 5.18 *Cross-tabulations between intangible nature factors and nationality (Source: Qs 3 and 18 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 2*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
manners and habits vs. nationality	48.034	3.7E(-11)	0.296
birthday celebrations vs. nationality	26.580	1.7E(-6)	0.220
markets vs. nationality	21.650	2E(-5)	0.199
wedding celebrations vs. nationality	17.833	1E(-4)	0.181
dialects vs. nationality	17.667	1E(-4)	0.180
traditions and customs of a village community vs. nationality	15.560	4E(-4)	0.169
city street culture vs. nationality	12.367	0.002	0.150
religion vs. nationality	11.174	0.004	0.143
nationalism vs. nationality	10.131	0.006	0.136
festive celebrations vs. nationality	9.655	0.008	0.133
something that belongs to museums vs. nationality	6.579	0.037	0.110

Lastly, when museum visitors were asked to offer other suitable categories not included in the predetermined list of folklore related items (Q 4 of the Questionnaire, Appendix II) only 18% of the sample offered suggestions. A varied range of suggestions was offered and a small flavour of them is given below. In addition, Table IV.16 in Appendix IV records broad categories of suggestions classified for the purposes of analysis:

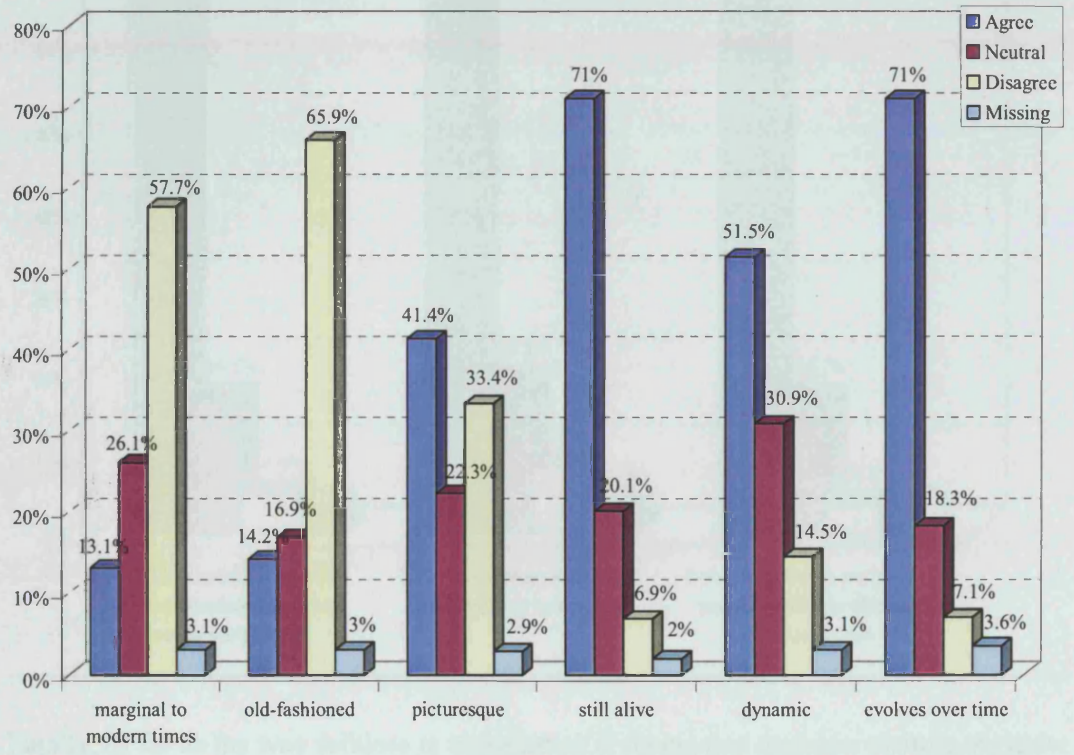
- "distinction between classes, traditional roles of men, women, boys and girls"
- "toys, school life and childhood, nursery rhymes"
- "relationship with nature"
- "crafts and architecture"
- "body art, fishing traditions, taboos and superstitions"
- "how people were educated, judicial system whether formal or informal"
- "minorities and interaction between minorities"
- "life in the more recent past"
- "health care"
- "relations to other cultures"
- "thoughts of people of a certain era"
- "not only talking about the normal life but also about marginals"
- "popular art"

5.4.7 *Attitudes towards folk life*

Overall, when asked to agree a set of five characteristics on a Lickert scale it was seen that museum visitors attributed rather positive characteristics to folklore and seemed to reject negative connotations such as "marginal" and "old fashioned" (Figure 5.10).

They tended to affirm that folklore was "dynamic", "alive" and "evolving over time". At the same time, there are relatively high proportions of the sample that do not have clearly formed opinions and therefore opt for the security of the neutral option. This neutrality may reflect either a reaction on the part of the sample who, when asked to comment on folk life in a folk life gallery, did not feel comfortable in expressing negative opinions, or it may indicate a reasonable confusion about what folk life does or does not represent when contrasted with the present.

Figure 5.10 *Visitors' attitudes towards folk life (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*



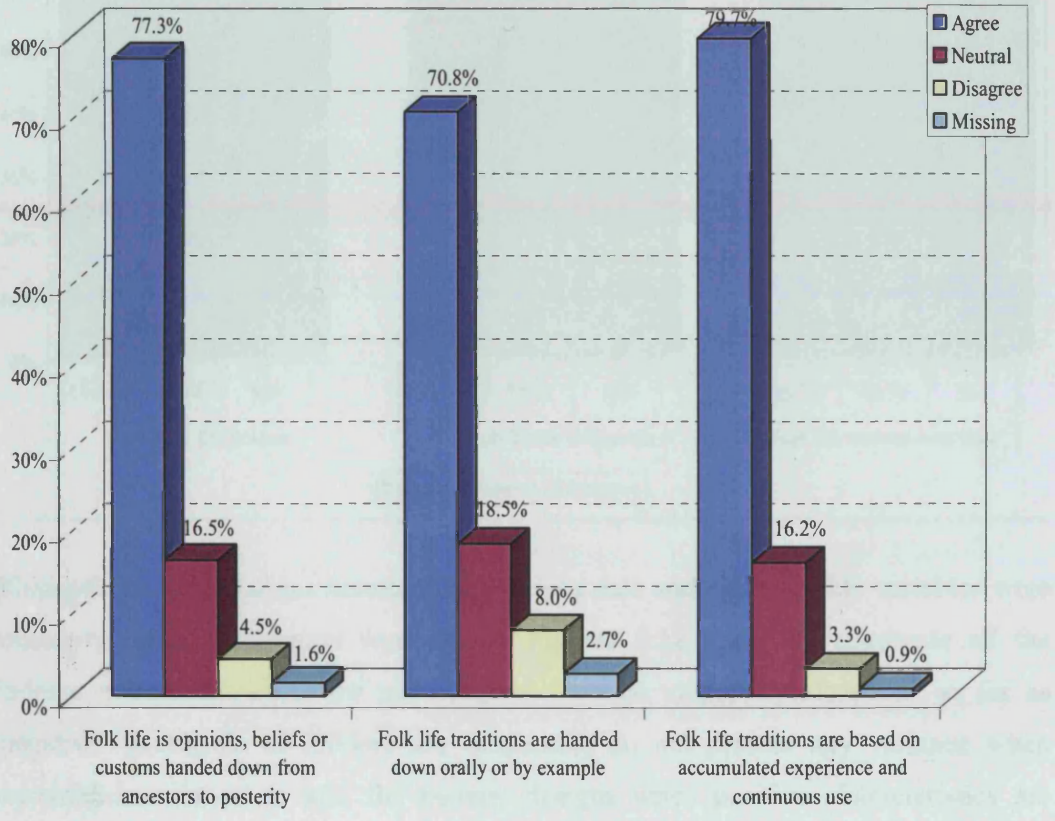
This confusion is also revealed when statements with reference to contemporary life are cross-tabulated with statements implying a contemporary face of folklore (Table 5.19). The lack of statistical significance and therefore associations between the alive, dynamic and evolutionary character of folklore and the everyday life of today perhaps

articulates a hesitation on the part of these educated museum visitors to closely relate folklore with modern living. On the other hand, this may be attributed to the different ways time dimensions are perceived by different people.

Table 5.19 *Cross-tabulations between content of folklore and attitudes towards folklore (Source: Qs 3 and 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, FL: Folk Life*

Statement	DF	χ^2	p	V
FL is about everyday life in the present vs. FL is dynamic	2	5.951	0.051	0.106
FL is about everyday life in the present vs. FL is still alive	2	3.421	0.181	0.079
FL is about everyday life in the present vs. FL evolves over time	2	2.168	0.338	0.064

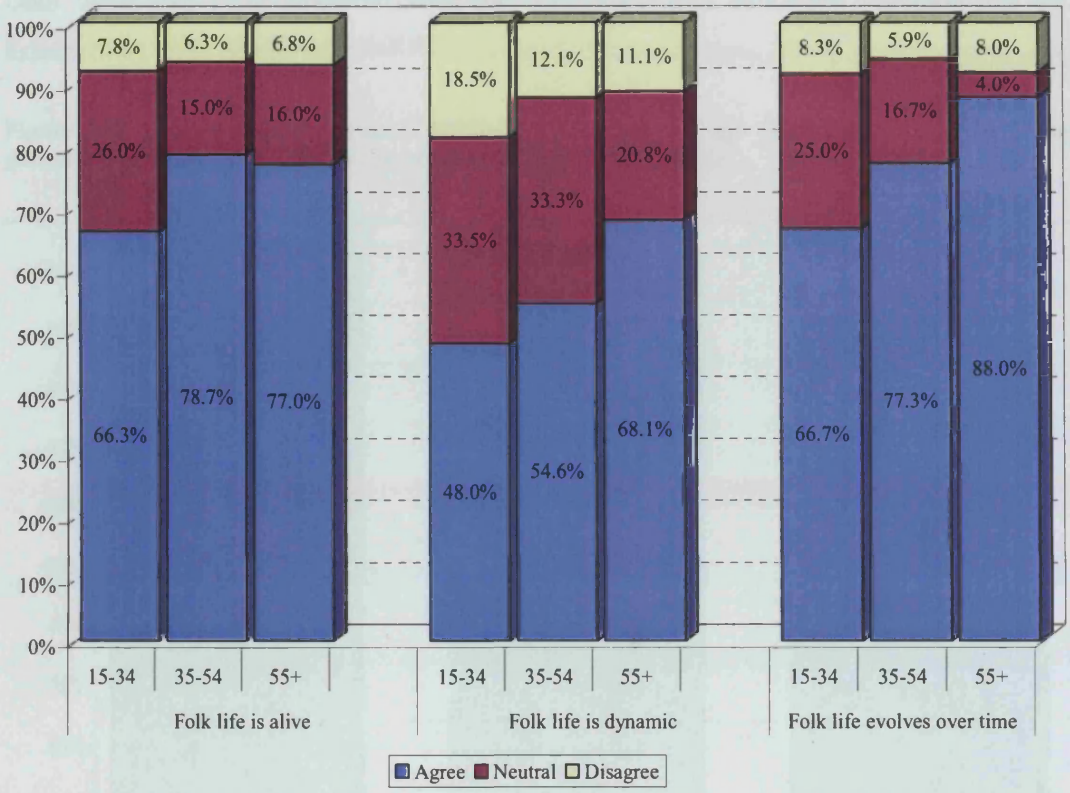
Figure 5.11 *Visitors' attitudes towards transmission of folklore (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*



Finally, as far as the way folklore is transmitted, it seems that museum visitors are quite confident about the oral transmission of folklore through unofficial channels of communication. More than 70% agree that folklore is handed down through generations orally or by example and continuous use (Figure 5.11). Again there is a percentage of respondents ranging between 16-18.5% who are neutral about the way folklore is transmitted while visitors who disagree with the above statements are limited to a range

between 3.3-8%. These findings are quite in line with the replies given to the open-ended question regarding visitors' views about the word "tradition" where the majority (71.8%) referred to tradition as culture/habits or behaviours transmitted from generation to generation (Table IV.3, Appendix IV).

Figure 5.12 *Visitors' attitudes towards folklore by age (Source: Qs 5 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*

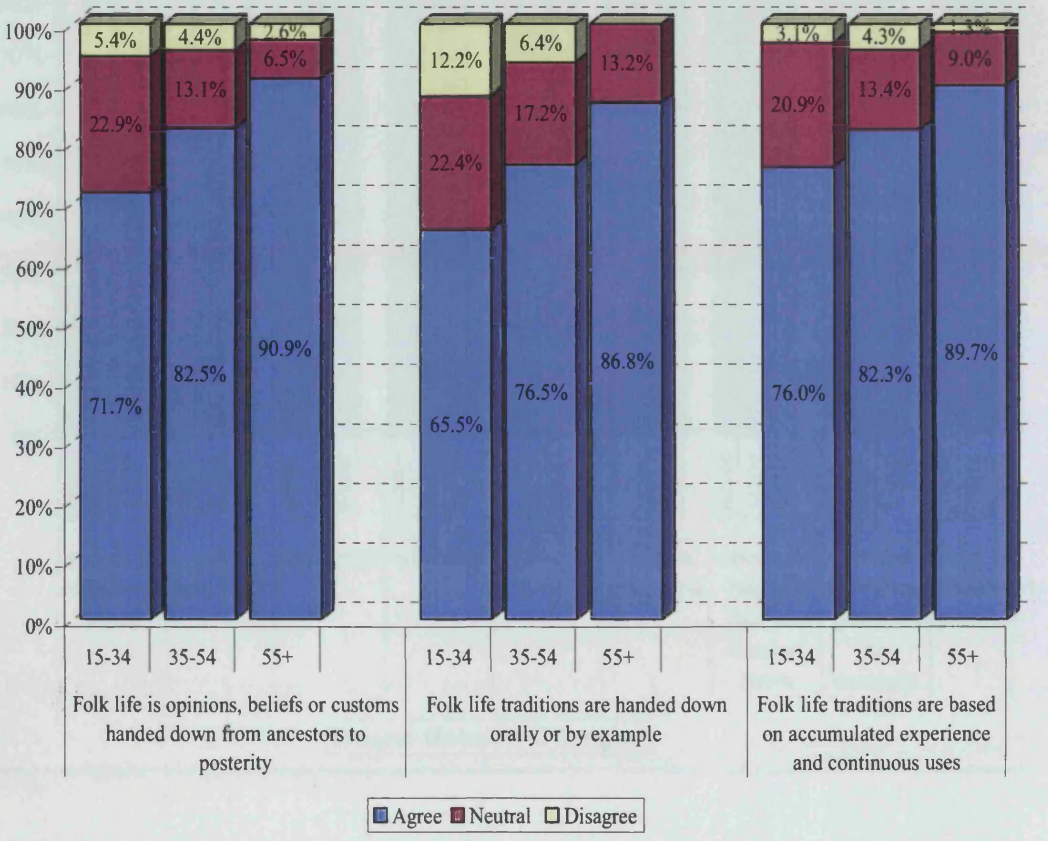


When possible associations between the previous data and demographic variables were considered some differences were found. Figures 5.12 and 5.13 aggregate all the findings in relationship to the age variable. Though visitors' preferences, as far as "negative" portrayals of folklore are concerned, do not present any variance when examined in relation to age, the pattern changes when positive characteristics are involved. As seen in Figure 5.12, visitors' "positive" attitudes towards folklore are slightly influenced by their age and it could roughly be said that the older the participant the more likely they were to attribute a positive quality to folklore. This comes to no surprise as the elderly have been proved to be more often oriented towards traditional life (Hufford, Hunt et al. 1987).

The same model is observed in respondents' replies about transmission of folklore (Figure 5.13). These trends could be said to be rather ordinary for a discipline that has, in general, been associated with more "traditional" rather than modern elements of European or Western culture and consequently is perhaps more distant to younger generations who, anyway, tend to reject more easily anything that seems conventional or long established.

Data were also cross-tabulated with the occupation and education variables but no associations were observed.

Figure 5.13 *Visitors' attitudes towards folklore's transmission by age (Source: Qs 5 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*

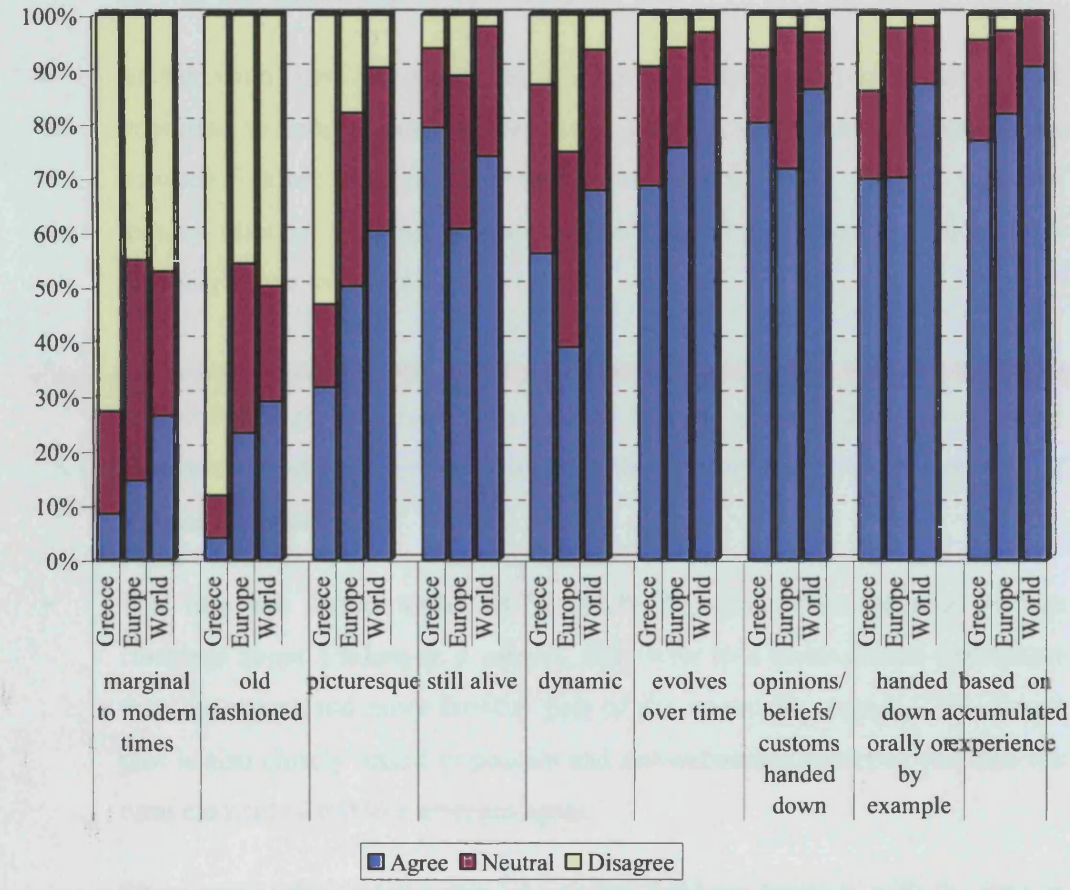


The observed variations in examining attitudes towards folk life by cultural regions (Figure 5.14) may be explained by the different ways folklore has been approached by different nations. Thus, when compared with visitors from other parts of the world, Greek, but also some European visitors whose countries may have used folklore in the past for achieving national or political agendas, are more conservative in attributing

negative features to folklore, and in relegating it to the past, while they also appear more hesitant in asserting folklore's contemporary face (Figure 5.14).

Chi-squared statistics which yielded statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between attitudes towards folklore and demographic variables including nationality are provided in Table IV.17 in Appendix IV.

Figure 5.14 *Visitors' attitudes towards folklore by nationality (Source: Qs 5 and 18 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*



5.4.8 Summary of section 5.4: rural life; local identity; past life; material culture; intangible heritage; attitudes to folk life

We can make the following points:

- Overall these museum visitors had a conservative perception about folklore as they mainly favoured more customary items such as "clothes" and "old traditions" as folk life characteristics and neglected areas that are within the interest of modern, academic folklore, but perhaps not so much accredited, such as "city street culture".

- Rural culture, though not mentioned intuitively in open-ended replies, proved to be a prime feature of folklore for the sample and it was tangible rather than intangible heritage that was mostly associated with rural culture perhaps due to the way folk life museums deal with it.

- At the same time, the notion of locality was considered more relevant or important to folklore than the notion of rurality, so affirming a strong link between folklore and spatial, regional and cultural issues. Also, a sense of locality imbued, perhaps, by modern notions of globalisation and cultural diversity began to emerge.

- Both ideas of rurality and locality retained a stronger link with the past than with the present. In general, the idea of folklore as something which is far more associated with the past than with the present was in the foreground of visitors' thoughts.

- This idea was further sustained by the finding that, when museum visitors comment about folklore as a subject, they refer to a more distant past rather than the recent and more familiar past of the twentieth century. This distant past is also closely linked to peasant and non-urbanised societies and thus the rural element of folklore emerges again.

- There was a close relationship of tangible folkloric heritage with the past in contrast to intangible heritage which was appreciated as something relevant to both past and present. Despite material culture's predominance in folk life museums and its prevalence in visitors' spontaneous thoughts about folklore, statistical associations between the two indicate that tangible and intangible heritage were regarded by visitors as essentially separate but intricately interwoven and inter-affected areas which have both significantly attributed to shaping folkloric heritage. The interplay between tangible and intangible heritage in 21st century museum plans serves to point to interpreting a broader

cultural heritage which resolves the cognitive dissonance between the two notions and illuminates their profound interdependence.

- An encouraging leaning towards folklore, indicated by visitors attributing to it positive characteristics, is important for the future of folk life museums. It shows that folklore is not viewed as unappealing by visitors but rather is seen as an interesting field that should continue to play a role in the museums of today after collections have been revalued, augmented and reinterpreted.

- Equally important is the finding that occasionally aspects of folklore prove to be more familiar to older rather than younger people. This is an area that should be exploited by folk life museums if they wish to open up to more varied and, maybe, younger audiences.

- The survey revealed variations in responses dependent on the nationality of respondents. On the threshold of ramification by UNESCO state members of the Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions, this finding is of particular relevance and importance. It is especially so for museums that have moved from focusing on the folkloric heritage of their country only to get engaged in the more complex representation of the diverse facets of the cultural heritage of European peoples and countries, and for those museums intending to do so. The museum of European Cultures in Berlin and the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée in Marseille may need to accommodate European or regional cultural distinctiveness as well as to cater to national incarnations in their audiences.

5.5 Social history

In an article in the Journal of Social History, Marcel van der Linden, Research Director of the International Institute of Social History, argues that "no one knows *exactly* what social history is" (Linden 2003, 69), whilst, from the position of the editor of the same journal, Peter Stearns has articulated this vagueness of the field by stating that in the early 1990s "some of us used to write at least one definition a year which did ... less for clearing the air"(Stearns 2003, note 1, 18)

If this uncertainty is true for social historians then museum visitors' ambiguity about the subject comes to no surprise. In this study, a first sign of this visitor bewilderment was spontaneous wonder or even a direct question to the researcher "What is social history?" when they had to answer the sixth question of the questionnaire which asked them to indicate the topics they would include in social history (Appendix II). These museum visitors had a far weaker concept of social history than of folklore and this circumstance is firmly supported by the data.

The plethora of themes and "turns" of social history to linguistic, cultural and interpretative approaches in the last twenty or thirty years, along with the subsequent broadened interaction with disciplines such as ethnology, literature, philosophy, art history, education, psychology and law (Kaelble 2003), so taking the subject beyond traditional sociology, political science and economic dimensions, led to theoretical complexity and made social history's public understanding even more complicated. In particular the emergence of cultural history in the 1970s and 1980s which, although it had been always closely related to social history emphasised different aspects of the past and followed diverse methods (Fass 2003), further contributed to the "puzzling of the public" problem. On the other hand, the gradual decline of interest of the general public in social history, for example in the production of popular books, after the initial enthusiasm of the 1960s and 1970s (Kaelble 2003, 29), might have also played a role in making the assimilation of a rather new subject in public minds more difficult. Besides, the lack of explicit social history books written for the wider public as well as the insistence of formal education authorities on the history of great people and great events in school curricula and the relative hostility or benign neglect regarding teaching social history in, for example, American schools (Downey 1982) has made the relationship between social history and the general public even more "mixed and mysterious" (Stearns 2003, 13).

The expanding range of themes studied by social historians and the diversity of methods used by them has been discussed in a variety of articles in social history journals (Henretta 1979; Tilly 1984). Table 5.20 (below) presents the findings of the sixth question of the questionnaire (*"These are some of the things people have said social history is about. Please indicate the topics you personally would include in the story of society in recent centuries"*, Appendix II) categorised -when possible - according to Hartmut Kaelble's classification.

Table 5.20 *The image of social history (Source: Q 6 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), categorised after Kaelble (2003), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Social history is about:	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
Formation of social classes	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
the study of the structures of the society	473	85.8	54	9.8	15	2.7	9	1.6
about all types and classes of people	472	85.7	59	10.7	10	1.8	10	1.8
mainly about the ordinary man and woman*	298	54.1	134	24.3	96	17.4	23	4.2
Rise of welfare state								
work	447	81.1	68	12.3	19	3.4	17	3.1
health*	339	61.5	127	23.0	48	8.7	37	6.7
History of communication								
transport*	341	61.9	129	23.4	56	10.2	25	4.5
travel*	328	59.5	137	24.9	63	11.4	23	4.2
History of consumption/signification of objects								
domestic things*	320	58.1	130	23.6	77	14.0	24	4.4
mass production*	231	41.9	198	35.9	96	17.4	26	4.7
Interaction with political history								
the rights of ordinary people	424	77.0	90	16.3	26	4.7	11	2.0
democracy*	303	55.0	166	30.1	54	9.8	28	5.1
anything except political history*	72	13.1	149	27.0	306	55.5	24	4.4
Others								
written history of society*	319	57.9	151	27.4	61	11.1	20	3.6
industrial times*	306	55.5	166	30.1	60	10.9	19	3.4
oral history that is not written down*	273	49.5	138	25.0	116	21.1	24	4.4
history that the states do not encourage to teach*	237	43.0	180	32.7	114	20.7	20	3.6
a discipline for the university people to study*	187	33.9	197	35.8	139	25.2	28	5.1

* items gaining a high neutral response

Kaelble discerns three classical topics in social history: the formation of social classes, the rise of the modern nuclear family, and the rise of the modern welfare state along with eight further themes which encapsulate the latest developments of the field:

> "the history of debates, communication, terms, language, public spaces, media, intellectuals; the history of memory, lieux de mémoire, symbols, rituals, myths, signification of objects; the history of values, social norms, social models; the history of identities, national, transnational, social ethnic, and at the same time a very prominent topic, the history of the other; the history of women; the history of migration, transfers, rise of ethnic groups and of hybrid societies; the history of consumption; the history of religion" (Kaelble 2003, 30).

The eight additional themes include topics that may have been presented as cultural history in the past as well as some closely related to anthropology or to folklore as, for example, symbols, rituals, migration or religion.

Clearly the majority of the sample was more confident in agreeing with statements that bear an association with conventional social history issues such as the formation of social classes, and the rise of welfare state (Table 5.20). Thus around four out of five respondents agreed that social history is about "the study of the structures of the society" (85.8%), "all types and classes of people" (85.7%), and "work" (81.1%). Despite social history's unquestioned proclivity in studying mainly the history and behaviour of ordinary working people (Stearns 1994) only 54.1% of these visitors regarded this area as closely associated with social history so making clear, again, that social history is a field of study that raises doubts and uncertainty about its content to the general public. However, 77% agreed that it is about the rights of ordinary people so attributing a political role to social history. Interestingly, respondents seemed to be more reserved when agreeing or disagreeing topics which have been recently introduced to social history's research agenda. Hence, "transport" and "travel" gathered 61.9% and 59.5% inclusions respectively, while "domestic things" gained 58.1% and "mass production" 41.9%.

These reservations become far more evident if we consider the high percentages for the neutral responses. In fact, when visitors were asked to select the topics they would embrace under the auspices of "social history" around a quarter of visitors opted for the security of the "neutral" option (star indicated statements, Table 5.20). Quite reasonably, this is particularly true for items that are perhaps more unfamiliar to visitors such as the involvement of oral history in social history, the teaching of social history and the academic framework of the field (statements under the heading *Others* in Table 5.20). This phenomenon however, is very evident throughout the majority of the findings and bears a particular significance if we take into consideration that these museum visitors are highly educated and therefore might be expected to have a certain level of awareness of the subject (65.7% of the sample have a university degree). Nonetheless, the fact that educational level did not prove to be a key determiner when examined in relation to visitors' responses about social history – very weak associations were observed - contributes to strength of the assertion that this fuzziness about "social history" is a given circumstance rather than one traced to a specific segment of the sample (Table 5.21). This uncertainty about the content of social history as a subject

should raise worries for social history museums that have appropriated the term for their brand names or collections. It also indicates that social historians might produce uncommunicative museum displays for the general public.

Table 5.21 *Statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation and social history (Source: Q6 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded, N= 551 respondents*

Age vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history is about oral history that is not written down	4	17.682	0.001	0.130
Social history is about written history of society	4	9.900	0.042	0.097
Education vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history is about democracy	2	18.667	8.8E(-5)	0.190
Social history is about the study of the structures of the society	2	13.633	0.001	0.159
Social history is about anything except political history	2	7.220	0.027	0.117
Social history is about transport	2	6.714	0.035	0.113
Social history is about the industrial times	2	6.682	0.035	0.112
Social history is about work	2	6.665	0.036	0.112
Social history is about the rights of ordinary people	2	6.606	0.037	0.111
Social history is about the history that the states do not encourage to teach	2	6.392	0.041	0.110
Nationality vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history is about domestic things	4	49.295	5.1E(-10)	0.217
Social history is about oral history that is not written down	4	42.536	1.3E(-8)	0.202
Social history is about written history of society	4	30.505	3.9E(-6)	0.170
Social history is about health	4	21.994	2E(-4)	0.147
Social history is about democracy	4	20.868	3.3E(-4)	0.142
Social history is a discipline for the university people to study	4	19.882	0.001	0.138
Social history is about transport	4	18.665	0.001	0.134
Social history is about travel	4	17.011	0.002	0.127
Social history is about the study of the structures of the society	4	16.983	0.002	0.126
Social history is about anything except political history	4	14.000	0.007	0.116
Social history is about work	4	13.458	0.009	0.113
Social history is about mass production	4	13.146	0.011	0.112
Social history is about the rights of ordinary people	4	13.149	0.011	0.111

Data were cross-tabulated by age, gender, education, nationality and occupation. Table 5.21 presents the cases where statistically significant results were recorded. As can be seen the associations revealed were rather weak so none of these variables can be said to play a significant role in influencing visitors perceptions about social history. The

stronger associations were observed in the cases of "domestic items", "oral history" and "written history of society" when examined from the aspect of nationality.

Figure 5.15 *Visitors' attitudes towards social history with regards to nationality (Source: Q 6 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each set of columns*

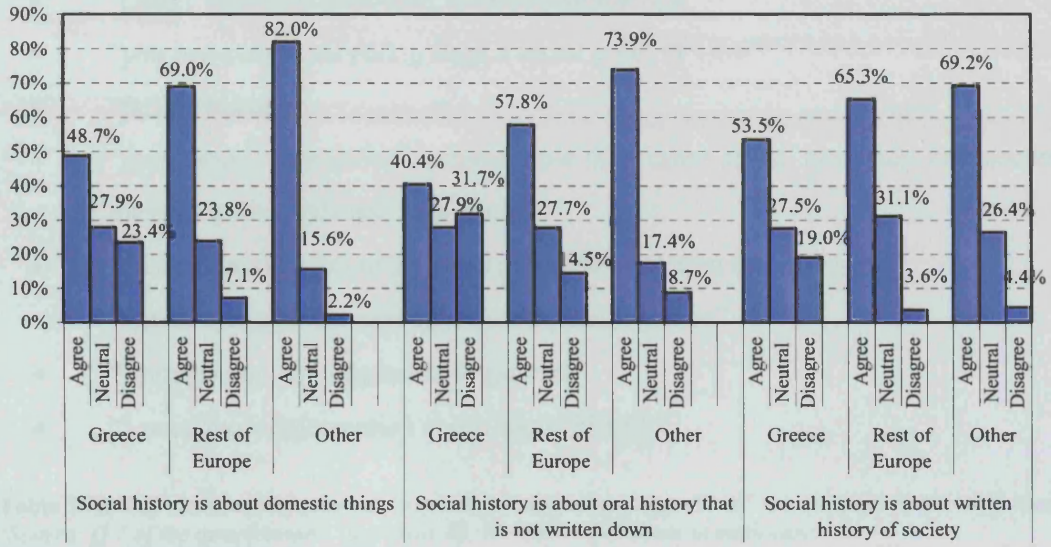


Figure 5.15 offers a visual presentation of the differences recorded for the above statements. These findings may suggest that nationality may have played a small role in visitors' selection. The fact however, that the reported associations are weak does not allow a generalisation. In fact, as was the case when examining folklore, a larger sample would be required in order to obtain more accurate results.

Finally visitors were asked to offer more suggestions about the content of social history from their point of view but again, as happened with the related question about folklore, the response rate was very low. The non response rate was almost the same for folklore (82%) and for social history (83.1%) whilst visitors' replies were so varied that categorisation could not form a concrete pattern of topics on either folklore or social history. In several cases the themes suggested (childhood, education, entertainment) are the same for both disciplines. In the case of social history only 16.5% of the respondents felt they had something more to add and their replies are presented classified in broad categories in Table 5.22 while a representative sample of their verbatim responses is given below:

- "local customs and traditions"

- "all kinds of politics and economics"
- "life of ordinary man and woman"
- "religion, trade, language"
- "entertainment"
- "education and politics"
- "crime, internationalisation, telecommunications"
- "you can study everything from a social point of view"
- "family history"
- "more about their belief systems, how they came about, how they influenced them as individuals and their society"
- "customs and mores of a people and their evolution through ages"
- "human struggle for equality, development, justice"
- "immigration and migration in general"
- "I need more information about social history"

Table 5.22 *Responses to the open-ended question "Any other suggestions" with respect to social history (Source: Q 7 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents in each case*

Word/phrase mentioned	N	%
None	458	83.1
Other	63	11.4
Social classes/folk groups/social conflicts	17	3.1
Art/literature/architecture	13	2.4
Daily life	8	1.5
Entertainment/sports	8	1.5
Finance and politics	7	1.3
Morals and ethics	5	0.9

5.5.1 Social history museum visiting

In an attempt to investigate what associations of ideas pertain to the term "social history museum" museum visitors were asked to comment on whether they thought there were social history museums in Greece. The fact that the most popular response (64.2%) was "I don't know" (Table 5.23) as well as the lack of convergence in the 28.1% of affirmative responses – responses varied from folk life and historical museums to art and archaeological ones - might again imply that the multidimensionality of social history as a subject has contributed to a definitional vagueness of the term itself which

is accentuated when applied in differing contexts, such as the museum one. It is important to note that the reply "I don't know" was offered regardless of nationality rather than being confined to tourists who would be reasonably expected not to be aware of the kind of museums that are available in Greece. In fact, in a few cases, presumably when some foreign visitors were more familiar with the idea of a social history museum, they assumed that there should be social history museums in Greece and therefore even though they were not sure they answered the question positively.

Table 5.23 *Responses to the open-ended question "Do you think that there are social history displays in Greece" (Q 8 of the questionnaire, see Appendix II) with reference to nationality*

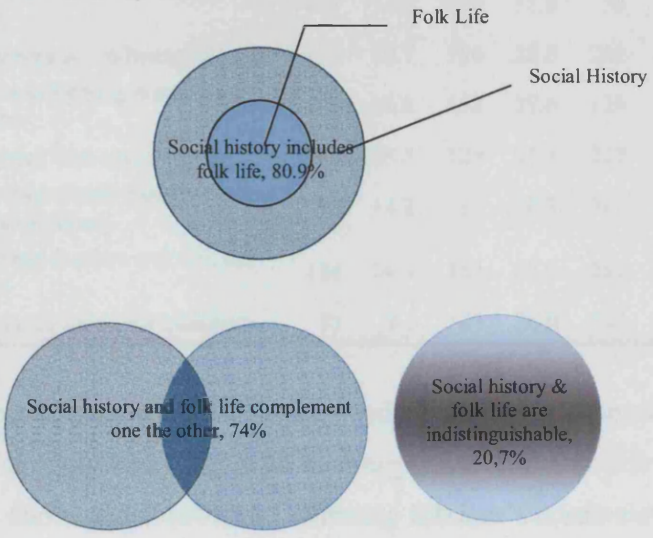
			Do you think there are social history displays in Greece?			
			Yes	No	Don't know /no reply	Total
Nationality	**Greece**	Count	71	32	175	279
		% within Nationality	25.4%	11.5%	62.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	13.0%	5.9%	32.0%	51.0%
	Rest of Europe	Count	48	2	122	173
		% within Nationality	27.7%	1.2%	70.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	8.8%	.4%	22.3%	31.6%
	Rest of the world	Count	35	6	54	95
		% within Nationality	36.8%	6.3%	56.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	6.4%	1.1%	9.9%	17.4%
Total		Count	154	40	351	547
		% within Nationality	28.2%	7.3%	64.2%	100.0%
		% of Total	28.2%	7.3%	64.2%	100.0%

Of the 64.2% who gave no reply, 32% were Greeks, 22.3% Europeans and 9.9% from the rest of the world. Seen from the entire sample and a within nationality perspective, the 32% of Greeks translates to 62.7% of the subset of Greek visitors in the sample, the 22.3% of Europeans in the entire sample to 70.5% of the European subset, and the 9.9% of those from the rest of the world in the entire sample to 56.8% of visitors from other parts of the world (Table 5.23 above). My hypothesis that these museum visitors are unsure about what a social history museum is rather than whether there is one available in Greece is supported if we take into consideration that these educated visitors were interviewed in museum settings which might themselves be considered to be very close to what a social history museum both philosophically and historically could be, let alone that, in several European cases, social history museums are just folk life museums transformed into social history ones after periods of transition (see chapter 4).

5.5.2 *The relationship between folk life and social history*

When asked about the relationship between folk life and social history (Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), a considerable percentage of the survey participants (80.9%) decided that folklore is part of the broader area of social history. In contradiction an equally large percentage (74%) affirmed that folklore and social history are two adjacent disciplines which have directly or indirectly influenced one the other and 20.7% considered the two areas to be identical (Figure 5.16 below).

Figure 5.16 *Visitors' attitudes towards social history and folk life*



The interpretation of these findings is more complex than expected if we consider that respondents were not restricted to the selection of one item only but were free to select as many items they wished from a predetermined list of suggestions. As a result out of 446 (80.9%) respondents who thought that social history includes folk life, 337 (62.9%) also assumed that the two areas are separate fields but with many common elements whereas 109 (20.5%) thought that the two fields represent one concept with the same theoretical and philosophical background. Following the same way of thinking, 90 (17.1%) individuals agreed to both statements "social history and folk life complement one the other" and "folk life and social history are identical", and 86 (16.3%) people chose all the three options. If we now note the percentages recorded for the neutral preferences (12.2% for "social history includes folk life", 17.8% for "social history and folk life complement one the other" and 28.3% for "folk life and social history are indistinguishable", see Table 5.24) we can perhaps conclude that for these museum

visitors the relationship between the two disciplines is very blurred and chasms or bridges cannot be assertively identified. Such a finding is far from unanticipated but rather in harmony with the foggy perceptions these visitors have about the content of social history as well as with the academic, theoretical overlaps between the disciplines of folklore and social history as discussed in the second chapter of this thesis.

Table 5.24 *Relationship between folklore and social history (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Social history includes folk life	446	80.9	67	12.2	34	6.2	4	0.7
Social history and folk life complement one the other	408	74.0	98	17.8	30	5.4	15	2.7
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	114	20.7	156	28.3	262	47.5	19	3.4
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life	258	46.8	152	27.6	129	23.4	12	2.2
Folk life is more informal than social history	186	33.8	129	23.4	222	40.3	14	2.5
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	78	14.2	92	16.7	369	67.0	12	2.2
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	134	24.3	152	27.6	251	45.6	14	2.5
Objects have limited value for social historians	50	9.1	143	26.0	348	63.2	10	1.8

Returning to the comparison of social history and folk life from the visitors' point of view respondents strongly disagreed with the suggestion that folk life does not need academic readings and research (67%) so affirming folklore's academic and theoretical "credentials" and following, again, the tendency to attribute positive characteristics to folklore (see section 5.4.7, Attitudes towards folk life). Yet, in spite of this, only a small percentage of these same visitors (20.3% of the sample) had agreed that folk life is "a past studied by academics" when asked their opinion about folklore (see Table 5.7 above). In addition, around half of the respondents in the entire sample considered social history to be more academically-related than folk life which has been thought of as more informal by around a third of the sample (Table 5.24). It's no wonder that high percentages –approximately a quarter of the respondents - of neutral responses regarding the previous comments about social history and folk life were also reported, and this is again an indication of bewilderment over these concepts.

Finally, the use of objects in order to explore social history issues was not underestimated by these museum visitors as 63.2% of them considered objects to be important for social historians.

When cross-tabulated all results yielded predictable associations (Table IV.18, Appendix IV).

Data were also examined by age, gender, education, occupation and nationality.

Table 5.25 *Relationship between folk life and social history with reference to age (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

			Age of Respondent			
			15-34	35-54	55+	Total
Social history includes folk life	**Agree**	Count	198	179	68	445
		% within Age	75.9%	85.2%	90.7%	81.5%
		% of Total	36.3%	32.8%	12.5%	81.5%
	Neutral	Count	45	17	5	67
		% within Age	17.2%	8.1%	6.7%	12.3%
		% of Total	8.2%	3.1%	0.9%	12.3%
	Disagree	Count	18	14	2	34
		% within Age	6.9%	6.7%	2.7%	6.2%
		% of Total	3.3%	2.6%	0.4%	6.2%
Total		Count	261	210	75	546
		% of Total	47.8%	38.5%	13.7%	100.0%
Social history and folk life complement one the other	**Agree**	Count	179	167	62	408
		% within Age	69.4%	82.3%	83.8%	76.3%
		% of Total	33.5%	31.2%	11.6%	76.3%
	Neutral	Count	58	32	7	97
		% within Age	22.5%	15.8%	9.5%	18.1%
		% of Total	10.8%	6.0%	1.3%	18.1%
	Disagree	Count	21	4	5	30
		% within Age	8.1%	2.0%	6.8%	5.6%
		% of Total	3.9%	0.7%	0.9%	5.6%
Total		Count	258	203	74	535
		% of Total	48.2%	37.9%	13.8%	100.0%
Social history and folk life are indistinguishable	**Agree**	Count	39	54	20	113
		% within Age	15.3%	26.6%	27.4%	21.3%
		% of Total	7.3%	10.2%	3.8%	21.3%
	Neutral	Count	83	53	20	156
		% within Age	32.5%	26.1%	27.4%	29.4%
		% of Total	15.6%	10.0%	3.8%	29.4%
	Disagree	Count	133	96	33	262
		% within Age	52.2%	47.3%	45.2%	49.3%
		% of Total	25.0%	18.1%	6.2%	49.3%
Total		Count	255	203	73	531
		% of Total	48.0%	38.2%	13.7%	100.0%
Objects have limited value for social historians	**Agree**	Count	24	20	6	50
		% within Age	9.2%	9.7%	8.1%	9.3%
		% of Total	4.4%	3.7%	1.1%	9.3%
	Neutral	Count	82	50	10	142
		% within Age	31.5%	24.3%	13.5%	26.3%
		% of Total	15.2%	9.3%	1.9%	26.3%
	Disagree	Count	154	136	58	348
		% within Age	59.2%	66.0%	78.4%	64.4%
		% of Total	28.5%	25.2%	10.7%	64.4%
Total		Count	260	206	74	540
		% of Total	48.1%	38.1%	13.7%	100.0%

Table 5.26 *Relationship between folk life and social history with reference to education (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

			Educational level		
			University	**Other**	Total
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	**Agree**	Count	70	63	133
		% within Education	19.8%	35.0%	25.0%
		% of Total	13.1%	11.8%	25.0%
	Neutral	Count	97	53	150
		% within Education	27.5%	29.4%	28.1%
		% of Total	18.2%	9.9%	28.1%
	Disagree	Count	186	64	250
		% within Education	52.7%	35.6%	46.9%
		% of Total	34.9%	12.0%	46.9%
Total		Count	353	180	533
		% of Total	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%
Folk life is more informal than social history	**Agree**	Count	128	57	185
		% within Education	36.3%	31.7%	34.7%
		% of Total	24.0%	10.7%	34.7%
	Neutral	Count	96	33	129
		% within Education	27.2%	18.3%	24.2%
		% of Total	18.0%	6.2%	24.2%
	Disagree	Count	129	90	219
		% within Education	36.5%	50.0%	41.1%
		% of Total	24.2%	16.9%	41.1%
Total		Count	353	180	533
		% of Total	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	**Agree**	Count	34	44	78
		% within Education	9.7%	24.0%	14.6%
		% of Total	6.4%	8.2%	14.6%
	Neutral	Count	58	33	91
		% within Education	16.5%	18.0%	17.0%
		% of Total	10.8%	6.2%	17.0%
	Disagree	Count	260	106	366
		% within Education	73.9%	57.9%	68.4%
		% of Total	48.6%	19.8%	68.4%
Total		Count	352	183	535
		% of Total	65.8%	34.2%	100.0%
Objects have limited value for social historians	**Agree**	Count	25	25	50
		% within Education	7.0%	13.7%	9.3%
		% of Total	4.7%	4.7%	9.3%
	Neutral	Count	88	54	142
		% within Education	24.8%	29.7%	26.4%
		% of Total	16.4%	10.1%	26.4%
	Disagree	Count	242	103	345
		% within Education	68.2%	56.6%	64.2%
		% of Total	45.1%	19.2%	64.2%
Total		Count	355	182	537
		% of Total	66.1%	33.9%	100.0%

Gender and occupation did not yield statistically significant outcomes; the remaining variables appear to have exerted an influence on visitors' decisions over the relationship

between folk life and social history. This influence does not follow a consistent pattern, however. Age (Table 5.25) seems to play a role in determining opinions about direct links between folk life and social history (the first three statements of question 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). For the age variable and for the cases where statistical significance was recorded (see Table 5.25 and Table IV.19 in Appendix IV), the younger age group was more prone to the neutral option which might suggest that younger people are either less interested in folk life and social history and therefore less informed about their content or that they proclaim their absolute lack of knowledge by choosing the neutral alternative.

Table 5.27 *Relationship between folk life and social history with reference to nationality (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

			Nationality			
			Greece	**Europe**	**Other**	Total
Social history includes folk life	**Agree**	Count	208	150	85	443
		% within Nationality	74.8%	86.7%	92.4%	81.6%
		% of Total	38.3%	27.6%	15.7%	81.6%
	Neutral	Count	44	16	6	66
		% within Nationality	15.8%	9.2%	6.5%	12.2%
		% of Total	8.1%	2.9%	1.1%	12.2%
	Disagree	Count	26	7	1	34
		% within Nationality	9.4%	4.0%	1.1%	6.3%
		% of Total	4.8%	1.3%	.2%	6.3%
Total		Count	278	173	92	543
		% of Total	51.2%	31.9%	16.9%	100.0%
Social history and folk life complement one the other	**Agree**	Count	221	114	72	407
		% within Nationality	80.7%	67.9%	80.0%	76.5%
		% of Total	41.5%	21.4%	13.5%	76.5%
	Neutral	Count	41	39	15	95
		% within Nationality	15.0%	23.2%	16.7%	17.9%
		% of Total	7.7%	7.3%	2.8%	17.9%
	Disagree	Count	12	15	3	30
		% within Nationality	15.0%	23.2%	16.7%	17.9%
		% of Total	7.7%	7.3%	2.8%	17.9%
Total		Count	274	168	90	532
		% of Total	51.5%	31.6%	16.9%	100.0%
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	**Agree**	Count	42	45	25	112
		% within Nationality	15.6%	26.6%	28.1%	21.2%
		% of Total	8.0%	8.5%	4.7%	21.2%
	Neutral	Count	68	59	27	154
		% within Nationality	25.2%	34.9%	30.3%	29.2%
		% of Total	12.9%	11.2%	5.1%	29.2%
	Disagree	Count	160	65	37	262
		% within Nationality	59.3%	38.5%	41.6%	49.6%
		% of Total	30.3%	12.3%	7.0%	49.6%
Total		Count	270	169	89	528

Table 5.27 *Relationship between folk life and social history with reference to nationality (continued)*

			Nationality			Total
			Greece	Europe	Other	
		% of Total	51.1%	32.0%	16.9%	100.0%
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	**Agree**	Count	86	33	13	132
		% within Nationality	31.4%	19.3%	14.8%	24.8%
		% of Total	16.1%	6.2%	2.4%	24.8%
	Neutral	Count	74	54	23	151
		% within Nationality	27.0%	31.6%	26.1%	28.3%
		% of Total	13.9%	10.1%	4.3%	28.3%
	Disagree	Count	114	84	52	250
		% within Nationality	41.6%	49.1%	59.1%	46.9%
		% of Total	21.4%	15.8%	9.8%	46.9%
Total		Count	274	171	88	533
		% of Total	51.4%	32.1%	16.5%	100.0%
Folk life is more informal than social history*	**Agree**	Count	63	75	48	186
		% within Nationality	23.0%	43.9%	54.5%	34.9%
		% of Total	11.8%	14.1%	9.0%	34.9%
	Neutral	Count	61	44	21	126
		% within Nationality	22.3%	25.7%	23.9%	23.6%
		% of Total	11.4%	8.3%	3.9%	23.6%
	Disagree	Count	150	52	19	221
		% within Nationality	54.7%	30.4%	21.6%	41.5%
		% of Total	28.1%	9.8%	3.6%	41.5%
Total		Count	274	171	88	533
		% of Total	51.4%	32.1%	16.5%	100.0%
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does*	**Agree**	Count	33	32	12	77
		% within Nationality	12.0%	18.9%	13.3%	14.4%
		% of Total	6.2%	6.0%	2.2%	14.4%
	Neutral	Count	28	44	18	90
		% within Nationality	10.1%	26.0%	20.0%	16.8%
		% of Total	5.2%	8.2%	3.4%	16.8%
	Disagree	Count	215	93	60	368
		% within Nationality	77.9%	55.0%	66.7%	68.8%
		% of Total	40.2%	17.4%	11.2%	68.8%
Total		Count	276	169	90	535
		% of Total	51.6%	31.6%	16.8%	100.0%
Objects have limited value for social historians	**Agree**	Count	36	10	3	49
		% within Nationality	13.1%	5.8%	3.3%	9.1%
		% of Total	6.7%	1.9%	.6%	9.1%
	Neutral	Count	61	62	19	142
		% within Nationality	22.2%	36.3%	20.9%	26.4%
		% of Total	11.4%	11.5%	3.5%	26.4%
	Disagree	Count	178	99	69	346
		% within Nationality	64.7%	57.9%	75.8%	64.4%
		% of Total	33.1%	18.4%	12.8%	64.4%
Total		Count	275	171	91	537
		% of Total	51.2%	31.8%	16.9%	100.0%

Educational level (Table 5.26) appears to have an overall impact when comparing folk life and social history (remaining question 9 statements of the questionnaire, Appendix II) in the sense that the less educated visitors are the more positive towards folk life.

The nationality variable has a broader more generic effect (Table 5.27). It recorded more statistically significant results when cross-tabulated with statements about the relationship between social history and folk life (Table IV.19, Appendix IV). Hence, Greek visitors seemed to be somewhat more favourably disposed towards folklore (see starred items in Table 5.27), compared to Europeans or visitors from the rest of the world, perhaps due to their personal experience of folklore and traditions which had been used in several cases to confirm Greek historical continuity and even now consist as a noteworthy part in their lives.

5.5.3 The improvement of folk life and social history displays

In an attempt to investigate the most interesting interpretative media for presenting folklore and social history from the visitors' perspective, visitors were asked to indicate what they felt to be best practice in folk life and social history interpretation from a pre-determined list of options (Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). This list is not exhaustive of all possible media options but is largely limited to what many history curators valued as the key interpretative techniques in response to the Social History Curators Group survey, undertaken by the Leeds University Business School in 1996/97, about the most effective methods of presenting history (Davies 1999). The options, therefore, cover what is likely to be offered to visitors.

Table 5.28 shows quite clearly that the most favoured method (88.2%) was film or video integrated into displays. Other audio material, perhaps in the form of music and songs, is also strongly favoured (79.7%) while third in these visitors' preferences comes more information about the people behind the objects presented, and oral history evidence (both at 77.7%). Interactive computer displays (65.5%) and museum drama (57.7%) come last in their liking. All of the offerings were appreciated by at least half of the sample so it could be said that collectively they make an impact on folk life and social history displays.

It is also remarkable to note that many of these visitors offered their own suggestions for improvement of folk life museums even if they had not been asked to do so. This is clearly exemplified to the following replies to the open-ended questions "any other suggestions" with regards either to folk life or to social history (Qs 4 and 7 of the questionnaire, Appendix II):

- "a museum exhibition with exhibits from the past and present alike with more emphasis on legends"
- "replication in movie or model of a past life so that it is easier to relate history to today's life instead of just static displays. Stories are more impressive to people"
- "the museum should reveal in a more direct way the way of thinking, the soul of people living there"
- "vocal recordings of important social, cultural, political figures; perhaps ordinary people too"

Table 5.28 *Interpretative means that would improve folk life and social history displays according to visitors (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sound and moving images of things being used would improve folk life and social history displays	486	88.2	42	7.6	13	2.4	10	1.8
Other audio material would improve folk life and social history displays	439	79.7	81	14.7	18	3.3	13	2.4
More explanation about the life of the people who owned the objects would improve folk life and social history displays	428	77.7	81	14.7	31	5.6	11	2.0
Taped stories would improve folk life and social history displays	428	77.7	91	16.5	22	4.0	10	1.8
More context to the objects on display would improve folk life and social history displays	405	73.5	109	19.8	28	5.1	9	1.6
Slide shows would improve folk life and social history displays	395	71.7	114	20.7	27	4.9	15	2.7
Computer interaction and exhibits would improve folk life and social history displays	361	65.5	123	22.3	50	9.1	17	3.1
Drama of people in everyday activities would improve folk life and social history displays	318	57.7	139	25.2	73	13.2	21	3.8

This eagerness for innovation in interpretation, although the above media and approaches are techniques that have already been tried in museums and advocated in journals and conferences, comes as no surprise if we bring to mind the approaches to

interpretation exemplified in the 24 European museums which were reviewed for this study (chapter 4). The majority of those museums made use of generally traditional museum techniques such as textual information (21 out of 24 museums) and room sets (15 out of 24) and rarely engaged other means such as oral history and high technology. Perhaps the manifest expression from the visitors for novel interpretative approaches which would stimulate their interest and curiosity and highlight the human dimension of museum objects can inspire even very traditional museums to turn to fresher interpretative techniques.

The above data were also examined by age, gender, education, occupation and nationality. In several cases statistically significant results were recorded but the very weak associations cannot allow authoritative conclusions (Tables IV.20 - IV.25, Appendix IV). Only weak tendencies were seen - for example women appear to be more in favour of live interpretation (Table IV.22, Appendix IV) and Greek visitors tend to be more positive about the majority of the methods proposed (Table IV.24, Appendix IV). Greater samples are required to establish the value or impact of these variables.

5.5.4 Summary of section 5.5: social history; social history museum visiting; the relationship between folk life and social history; the improvement of folk life and social history displays

The main finding of the visitors' survey regarding social history is that the content of the field is not at all clear in the minds of these respondents. Thus:

- Although the majority agreed with the fairly vague statement that social history is about the structures of society, they seemed to be more reserved in identifying more specific relevant areas.

- They also felt that social history is about all types and classes of people and therefore it is not restricted to the ordinary man and woman.

- They agreed however that the rights of ordinary people are one of social history's main areas of interest therefore not isolating it from political history contrary to what could be expected.

- Puzzlement became more evident in these visitors' attempts to identify social history museums in Greece where the majority explicitly expressed ignorance.

- When investigating the perceived relationship between folk life and social history, respondents realised that the two disciplines are two separate fields with many common elements, without however being able to precisely define the borders between the two. This finding might have implications for museums that use either concept to identify themselves as both expressions might not retain the same meaning not only for the general public but perhaps for those with specialist knowledge as well, and therefore might generate further confusion.

- Also, the fact that less educated people appeared to tend to embrace folklore more cordially than social history should be born in mind with regards to a museum's branding name.

- Another issue that folk life or social history museums will have to deal with is the challenge of attracting younger generations as this part of the survey revealed that younger people are perhaps less concerned than others about social history and folklore.

- Finally the involvement of alternative interpretative techniques appears to be necessary for the enrichment of knowledge and enjoyment to the benefit of all.

5.6 Conceptions of the past

As an approach to seeking to understand how people feel about the past respondents were invited to indicate their agreement or disagreement with several statements about the past (Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) as well as to give unprompted responses about their images of daily life in the past to the final open-ended question of the questionnaire (Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). They were also asked to report their most favoured way of finding out about daily life in the recent past (Q 12 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). People's descriptions of the past and the way they relate it to the present may provide some information about why the representation of

everyday life in Greek and many other European museums stops at the beginning of the 20th century (fifth research question of this study, see chapter 1, section 1.2).

Almost all of these museum visitors, regardless of any demographic variables except for nationality (Table 5.32 below and Table IV.26 in Appendix IV), valued the past as something which is important to everyone (92.6%) and definitely worth knowing about (90.9%) (Table 5.29).

The impact of the past on shaping present and future life was also considered very important as it was selected by 93.3% and 90.4% of the sample respectively. Moreover, 83.7% of the respondents felt that curiosity was a further driving force for a general interest in the past and only a minority of 2.5% found studying the past boring (Table 5.29 below). When these statements were analysed by demographic indicators they presented no significant variations. Respect for the impact of the past on the present and future and curiosity about it is confirmed as universal in this representative sample of "Western" museum visitors.

Table 5.29 *Conceptions of the past (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Memory of the past informs the present	514	93.3	32	5.8	3	0.5	2	0.4
The past is important to everyone	510	92.6	24	4.4	13	2.4	4	0.7
It is worth knowing about the past	501	90.9	31	5.6	11	2.0	8	1.5
The knowledge of the past is necessary for the future	498	90.4	39	7.1	9	1.6	5	0.9
Curiosity about life in the past	461	83.7	72	13.1	10	1.8	8	1.5
People worked harder in the past	329	59.7	151	27.4	67	12.2	4	0.7
Life was very difficult in the past	308	55.9	190	34.5	48	8.7	5	0.9
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	246	44.6	198	35.9	101	18.5	6	1.1
There were better values in the past	190	34.5	167	30.3	185	33.6	9	1.6
Life was more peaceful in the past	88	16.0	153	27.8	303	55.0	7	1.3
Life was better in the past	47	8.5	194	35.2	302	54.8	8	1.5
There was no unemployment in the past	47	8.5	176	31.9	320	58.1	8	1.5
Studying the past is boring	14	2.5	56	10.2	475	86.2	6	1.1

The above findings, although outcomes of a very differently designed study, are analogous with the findings reported by Nick Merriman in his British survey of 1500 people on public attitudes about the past and the heritage (Merriman 2000, 22-25). The

above findings are also consistent with previous studies, such as that of personal disposition towards the past developed in the context of environmental psychology by Taylor and Conrad in Toronto (Taylor and Konrad 1980), and that which explored the link between past and present conducted in Britain by Hodder and his colleagues (Hodder and Hutson 2003).

The findings regarding people's general images of the past, not only from the perspective of the content of peoples commonest images but also from the comparable associations reported when these images of life in the past were examined by demographic variables were also consistent with the above mentioned studies.

Broadly speaking and despite the habitual nostalgic and embellished picture of the past in contemporary culture postulated by academic commentators (Lowenthal 1985, 4-13), these museum visitors, accredited a realistic quality to the way of life in the past by describing it as hard-working and difficult (59.7% and 55.9% of responses respectively, Table 5.29). In particular, the word "hard" was the most often cited word (41.4%, Table 5.30) when visitors responded to the open-ended question "what do you think life in the past was like for the ordinary person?" (Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II).

Table 5.30 *Images of life in the past – broad categories derived from unprompted responses (Source: Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case, missing= 97*

What do you think life in the past was like for the ordinary person	N	%
Hard	228	41.4
Worse in social terms (health, work conditions)	87	15.8
Better values	76	13.8
Better quality of life	96	17.4
Time of change and evolution	48	8.7
Different	41	7.4
Almost the same as today	34	6.2
Other	50	9.1
Multiple responses were possible		

As expected, question 15 accumulated a great variety of responses dependant mainly on the personal understanding of the term "recent past" by each individual. Before we embark on exploring these museum visitors' images about daily life in the recent past it's worth investigating which time period the term "recent past" encapsulated for the majority of respondents. In order to find this out the second part of the open-ended question 15 asked respondents to offer precise time spans which they could identify as

the recent past. There was an enormous diversity of replies; some people identified the recent past as yesterday, whilst others as the period before 18th century. An attempt to classify replies in more convenient categories is shown in Table 5.31, where it is clear that around 7 out of 10 of the sample identified the recent past broadly as the 20th century.

Table 5.31 *Responses to the question "What do you think is the recent past?" (Source: Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 680 responses*

What do you think is the recent past	N	%
Pre 18th century	15	2.2
1800-1850	59	8.7
1850-1900	77	11.3
1900-1950	221	32.5
1950-2000	272	40.0
Don't know/no reply	36	5.3
Total	680	100.0

Multiple responses were possible

A few visitors expressed bewilderment with the term "recent past" itself. One visitor asked himself whether "recent past is yesterday but also last century" and another one related the idea of the recent past to life span: "which is the recent past if I am 83 years old and which is it if I am 20 years old?".

Table 5.32 *Conceptions about the past with regards to nationality (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). Statistical significant results only, N= number of respondents in each case, missing= 97*

Statement	Greece N= 279 in each case		Rest of Europe N= 173 in each case		Rest of the World N= 95 in each case	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
The past is important to everyone	274	98.6	152	87.9	80	87.0
It is worth knowing about the past	269	96.8	143	84.6	87	94.6
People worked harder in the past	177	63.9	98	56.6	52	55.9
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	158	57.0	44	25.4	43	47.3
There were better values in the past	124	44.9	42	24.4	23	25.3
Life was more peaceful in the past	56	20.3	20	11.6	11	12.1
Life was better in the past	40	14.5	4	2.3	2	2.2
There was no unemployment in the past	38	13.8	6	3.5	3	3.3

It was noticeable that some of the respondents were reflective enough to indicate that perceptions of the past "depend on where in the world you live" or as one visitor put it

"on the time and place; some places were very difficult because of wars and economic problems and some places flourished". This instant observation on the part of visitors is interesting and agrees with the variations reported when I examined conceptions of the past from the nationality aspect (Table 5.32). In fact these slight variations are normal if seen through the prism of people's attitudes towards the past being coloured by their personal experiences (Merriman 2000, 26) and therefore by the country in which they live. Indeed, a few visitors as reported below explicitly articulated this influence in their responses.

A Benaki Museum visitor, when asked what the recent past was for him said: "what comes to mind is what my family has told me about the period 1950-1970" and another one thought that "the recent past is the past for which there are still living memories". A Museum of Greek Folk Art visitor identified the recent past as the "time of my parents' youth" and said that he could "try to imagine their life through photographs" while a second visitor from the same museum said that the recent past for her was "Greece of 20th century through the words of my grandparents". One visitor recognised the recent past as "the time before I was born which I learn about from my parents" and another identified the recent past as her childhood and adolescence.

Returning to the images that people have about the past, it is evident that the factor of "nostalgia and romanticism", although it did not seem to affect visitors' replies in the sense that the majority had an unromantic, realistic attitude towards life in the recent past, was selected by 44.6% of participants (see Table 5.29 on page 220). This response was slightly influenced by the educational level, the work status and the nationality of the respondents. More specifically, 40.2% of highly educated people identified nostalgia and romanticism in their attitudes towards the past but the percentage rises slightly to 54.6% for the less educated. Similarly, nostalgia and romanticism was more enthusiastically embraced by the lower work status respondents - 65.3% of retired and 59.1% of unemployed people compared with 38.1% of students, 32.1% of those working part time, and 45% of those working full time (Table IV.30, Appendix IV). The fact that nostalgia about the past, also expressed through choice of positive statements about the past (e.g. "there were better values in the past"), is more strongly felt by the less privileged section of the sample (Tables IV.28, IV.28a, IV.30, Appendix IV) is in line with the well–known arguments expressed by several cultural historians about the conditions which endorse the generation of nostalgia. Fred Davis has pointed out that nostalgia for the past is a kind of response to present situations (Davis 1979) whilst

Patrick Wright and Robert Hewison have moved this argument even further by broadly saying that a rosy view of the past is most stoutly felt in years of decline and discontent (Hewison 1987; Hewison 1999; Wright 1999). It appears to be the case that, if your life is experienced as less comfortable than that of some contemporaries you might have the tendency to think that the life of people similar to you in the past was better than your experience in the present.

Due to the recognition of a romanticised image of the past as represented in museums some visitors explicitly expressed their opposition to nostalgic feelings. Hence, a Museum of Greek Folk Art visitor started his personal recollection of the recent past with "we tend to have a rosy picture of the past; however life was difficult with physical labour, subsistence living, endemic diseases, short life spans, and so on" whereas another visitor was even more precise, stating "I have no nostalgic perceptions of the past which is why I believe the life of the ordinary person was a constant struggle to improve his/her conditions of life, economically, educationally, politically".

In addition to the high percentages affirming the statements "people worked harder in the past" (59.7%) and "life was very difficult in the past" (55.9%, see Table 5.29) many visitors predominantly referred to unpleasant sides of the past - lack of material commodities and poor social conditions (15.8%, see Table 5.30) – when they gave their personal views about the past. For example:

- "very hard and difficult; more illnesses and diseases, earlier deaths"
- "life was not very good for people who had to experience war or post-war time; it was full of uncertainties"
- "more difficult, bad transport"
- "difficult and limited modern conveniences"
- "harder in terms of communication, transport, work uncertain, difficult, restricted"
- "more manual labour, fewer sources of entertainment, fewer freedoms"
- "less opportunities for education"
- "a struggle for survival and improvement within their society"
- "limited to local society, with less opportunities for travelling and education"

Most of the respondents however, alongside bad aspects of life in the past, also referred to positive elements and agreed to items which they considered were better in the past,

when selecting from a predetermined list. A high percentage was reported for the statement "better values" (34.5%) in contrast to more absolute statements such as "life was better in the past", "life was more peaceful" or "there was no unemployment in the past" (see Table 5.29). A broad categorisation of responses to the additional open-ended question about the past (Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) yielded two categories expressing a positive attitude, one under the name of "better values" (stronger family bonds, ethics, respect, religion; 13.8% of these responses, see Table 5.30) and another under the title "better quality of life" (more simple, closer to nature, less pollution, less stress; 17.4% of the responses, see Table 5.30). The following replies are randomly selected, typical examples of the approach of balancing both good and bad things about the past:

- "harder work, stronger family bonds, feeling of security and less worries about the future"
- "life was tough with few amenities but it was more simple, more human and there was hope for progress and improvement"
- "life was difficult with a lot of wars and disasters. People worked hard but they enjoyed more free time. Church was playing a more significant role"
- "more difficult, harder work with more feelings of insecurities regarding the future, more difficulty in achieving goals but tighter bonds between people"
- "poverty and immigration but more authentic life"
- "an ugly period full of world wide wars, civil wars but more peaceful as far as family and social structures are concerned and more faithful to traditions"

As Nick Merriman has pointed out (Merriman 2000, 40) the dual expression of feelings, good and bad, about the past could be ascribed to the need for reassurance from the part of the respondents that they are better off in the present than in the past. Perhaps it could also indicate the subliminal influence of the romantic way the past is represented in today's cultural heritage sector. This could perhaps explain why most of the respondents refer first to the bad things of the past and then as a kind of atonement for expressing bad feelings inside a material temple to the past, they recite the good things, which they see as lacking from contemporary societies. This spontaneous comparison between the past and the present and even the "promotion" of issues of the past that more vividly contrast with the present has been discussed in detail by previous studies (Szacka 1972; Hodder and Hutson 2003), and is clearly shown in the responses below and actually in the majority of responses via the use of the grammatical comparative degree:

- "life improved significantly and so has education and technology. But not that much improvement with personal development, ethics etc."
- "the past one hundred years for us has seen a massive technological breakthrough and a breakdown in many cultures of family life. There is now less local stability and whereas families lived as units now they are willing to move away for different terms of employment to those of their family tradition and trade."
- "what differentiates today life than past life is the invasion of technology"
- "I think that the pace of life was slower but not necessarily less complex. Poverty and war existed just as they do now; there were always inequities between those who had and those who didn't. However reality was more centralised and much smaller and localised without mass media; experience was more direct and immediate. No globalisation and less technology. More respect and understanding of the environment and nature."
- "I think there were the same social differences as now: very hard and difficult work and life for those who lived in small villages as well as for those who were poor but lived in a big town. Moreover, there were and there will always be a class of rich people for whom life is easier because of money."

In addition to the above comments 8.7% of these visitors referred to the past as an era of change and evolution, mainly technological, 7.4% perceived the past as something different from the present while 6.2% thought that life in the past was almost the same as life in the present (Table 5.30).

When images of life in the past from the predetermined list were examined by age slight variations were observed. However, the associations revealed are too weak to allow generalisations (Tables IV.27, IV.27a, Appendix IV). Gender, on the other hand, yielded statistical significance in the single case of the statement "People worked harder in the past" where men agreed to a higher percentage than women perhaps because the house-centred and more restricted role of women in the past was seen as easier to modern females (Table IV.29, Appendix IV).

Before we finish the exploration of museum visitors' perceptions about the past let us have a final look to the most prefered ways of finding out about daily life in the recent past.

As Table 5.33 below reveals the most enjoyable way these visitors reported was communication with older people (26.1%). Reading a book came second in the public's preferences accumulating 22.7% of responses while visiting a museum third with 21.1%.

Table 5.33 *Ways of finding out about daily life in the recent past (Source: Q 12 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, missing=2*

Statement	N	%
Asking elder people about the past	144	26.1
Reading a book about it	125	22.7
Visiting a museum	116	21.1
Watching a television programme about it	80	14.5
Listening to an expert talking about it	38	6.9
No reply/multiple replies	24	4.4
Asking in your local library	22	4.0
Missing	2	0.4
Total	551	100.0

All statements were examined by demographic variables but no variations were observed.

5.6.1 Summary of section 5.6: conceptions of the past

- The main insight from the above analysis is that most people value the past as very important and worth knowing about, so overtly validating their potential interest in museums and cultural organisations which deal with the past.

- Although the past seems to have a very personal meaning for each individual influenced by his/her own experiences in the broadest sense (the country s/he lives in, his/her educational level or status included) there is to a great extent unanimity regarding the negative aspects about life in the past, often seen as the 20th century. Thus, the way of life in the past is overwhelmingly considered more hard working and difficult than today even if some people believe there were better values and truer relationships between people then.

- This perception, together with the rejection of nostalgia and romanticism as a determining factor in shaping a view of the past, is opposed to the image that

current museum interpretations have led us to believe and should definitely influence future interpretations.

- Equally important for this study is the realisation that the recent past is, according to these visitors, encapsulated by the twentieth century. This finding should be taken seriously into consideration by folk life museums, which, in their majority, persist in the presentation of everyday life in 19th and early 20th centuries. Collections and exhibitions need to be brought up to date, covering the 20th century more.

- Such a museological attitude further reinforces one more poorly understood aspect of folklore that this study has revealed, its perception by visitors as something which is closely related to the more distant rather than the recent past let alone the contemporary present.

- Finally, the fact that these museum visitors prefer to find out about the past through older people's recollections about it should make museums seek for most agreeable and resourceful ways of interpretation perhaps via more frequent use of oral history projects as well as the more active involvement of local communities.

5.7 Conclusion to chapter 5

This chapter presented the results of the analysis of museum visitors' opinions about folklore, social history and the past. We have considered the public's image of folklore, in relation to rural life, local identity, past life, tangible and intangible heritage. We have looked at social history as an academic subject and contrasted it with folk life; enquired about social history museums and displays and lastly investigated conceptions of the past. The following salient points were made clear from this exhaustive survey of museum visitors' views:

A. Folklore:

- museum visitors have a conservative perception about folklore;
- folklore is more associated with rural than urban environments and in particular, rural material culture is considered a prime feature of folklore;

- the notion of locality is thought more relevant or important to folklore than the notion of rurality and both ideas retain stronger links with the past than with the present;
- folklore is far more associated with the past than with the present and in particular, with a more distant past rather than the recent and more familiar past of the twentieth century;
- folklore encapsulates both tangible and intangible forms of culture;
- tangible folkloric heritage is related to the past whereas intangible heritage is associated to both the past and present;
- visitors attribute positive characteristics to folklore;
- occasionally aspects of folklore prove to be more familiar to older rather than younger people;
- nationality plays a role in shaping people's views about folklore.

B. Social History:

- both the content of and the term "social history" are not clear to museum visitors;
- social history is about all types and classes of people and therefore it is not restricted to the ordinary man and woman;
- social history is not alienated from political history;
- social history museums are not easily identified;
- the relationship between folk life and social history is not clear: the two disciplines are considered two separate fields with many common elements, but the borders between the two cannot been precisely defined by visitors;
- less educated people appeared to embrace folklore more cordially than social history;
- younger people are perhaps less concerned than others about social history and folklore;
- the involvement of alternative interpretative techniques is considered necessary.

C. The Past:

- most people value the past as very important and worth knowing about;
- visitors have a realistic image of the past;

- nostalgia and romanticism are not determining factors in shaping a view of the past;
- the recent past is, according to these visitors, encapsulated by the twentieth century;
- the most preferred way to find out about the past is through older people's recollections about it.

The following chapter deals with the same issues but from the point of view of museum specialists. It remains to be seen whether specialists are more aware of folklore's modern theoretical perspectives and whether on the basis of awareness-raising they are willing to put their theoretical commitments into museum practice and therefore share their experience with visitors.

6 Curator Survey: Analysis and Interpretation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the investigation of museum specialists' opinions about folk life and social history. It is based on the survey of 109 museum curators in museums around Europe. The questionnaire administered was the same as the one administered to museum visitors (Appendix II). Full details of the data gathering can be found in the methodology chapter. The findings are an interesting snapshot of museum curators' views which will provide explanations of folk life museums' approaches towards folklore and will lay the canvas for identifying possible communication gaps between museum visitors and museum workers' opinions about folklore and social history so informing the fourth research question of the project *"Is there any communication gap between visitors and curators in the case of folk life exhibitions and, if there is one, how could it be bridged? What information do both sides think the folk life museum should or could convey?"*.

In order to facilitate comparisons the chapter follows the same structure and principles used in the presentation of the visitors' survey. For the same reason, where possible, similar tables and graphics are provided.

6.1.1 Statistical treatment of the data

The same statistical tests which were employed in analysing the data collected from the visitors' survey were engaged for the analysis of the data collected through the experts' survey. The notation of all tables in this chapter is similar with the one used for the analysis of the visitors' perceptions about folklore and social history and is explained in

section 5.1.1. of chapter 5 *"Visitor Survey: Analysis and Interpretation"*. Moreover, for cases where assumptions of chi-squared tests are broken and therefore chi-squared values are not valid the probability provided by Fisher's Exact Probability test and the Cramer's V association value are given either in the same table or in a table below the original table. In the case of broken assumptions only statistically significant results are reported. Percentage statistics may not add to 100% because of rounding up or down effects. Findings are again ranked in order of strength of association.

6.2 Museum specialist profile

The specialist profile has been shaped as follows. A total of 109 museum specialists participated in the study. More than half of them (61.5%) were British, mainly respondents to a postal survey administered through the Social History Curators Group whose members are mostly British. Twenty one point one percent of museum specialists were Greek whilst 17.4% were from other European countries. A very small percentage (2.8%) originated from other parts of the world. The later were overseas members of the Social History Curators Group who participated in the survey (Figure 6.1 below and Table V.1 in Appendix V).

There was more than twice the number of female respondents (69.7%) than there were male respondents (30.3%). The dominant age range was 25-34 years (37.6%) with range 35-44 years (22%) and 45-64 years (22%) to follow (Figure 6.2). A more balanced representation is offered if age ranges are collapsed into three where 38.5% of the respondents are in range 19-34, 44% in 35-54 and 17.4% in age range 55+.

With regards to their educational background, 106 out of 109 museum specialists have at least a first university degree, two have a technological diploma whilst one does not have any specific qualification (Figure 6.3).

Lastly, the majority were working full-time (83.5%), 9.2% were employed on a part-time basis and 7.3% were retired and working voluntarily (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.1 *Specialists' nationalities collapsed into three categories, N= 109 individuals*

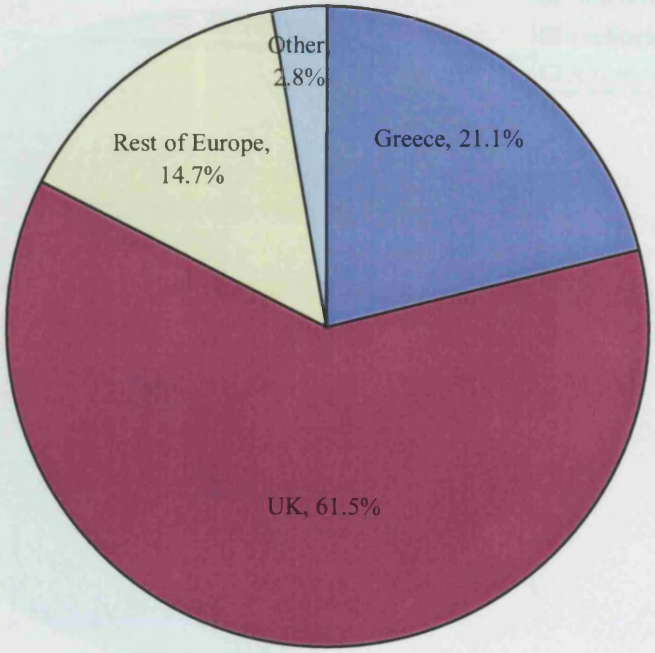


Figure 6.2 *Age range and gender of museum specialists, N= 109 individuals*

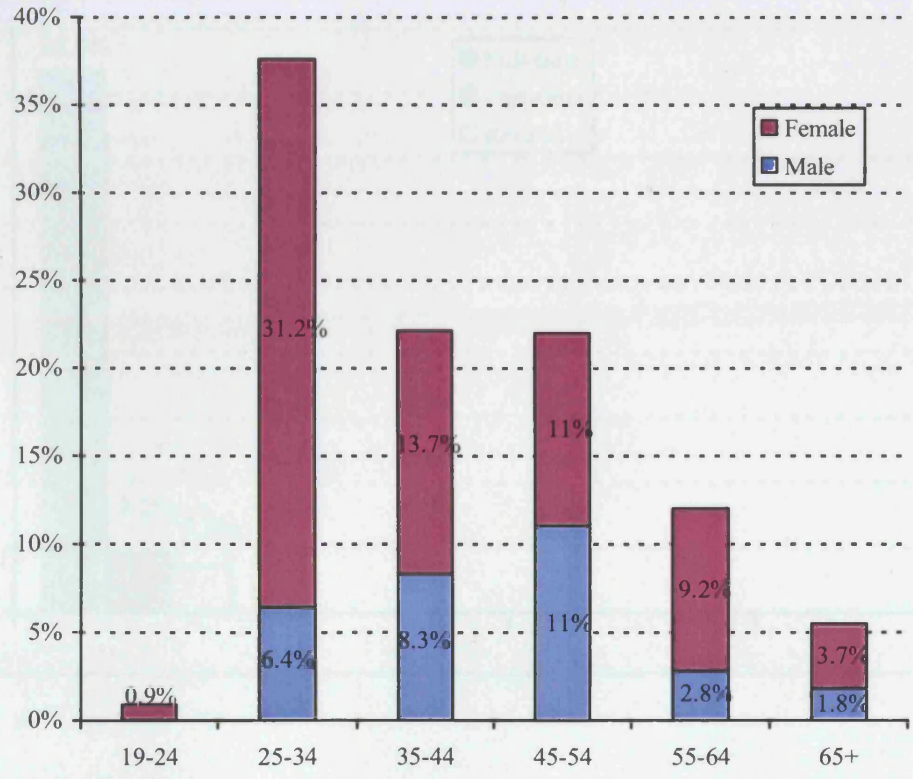


Figure 6.3 *Educational level of museum specialists, N= 109 individuals*

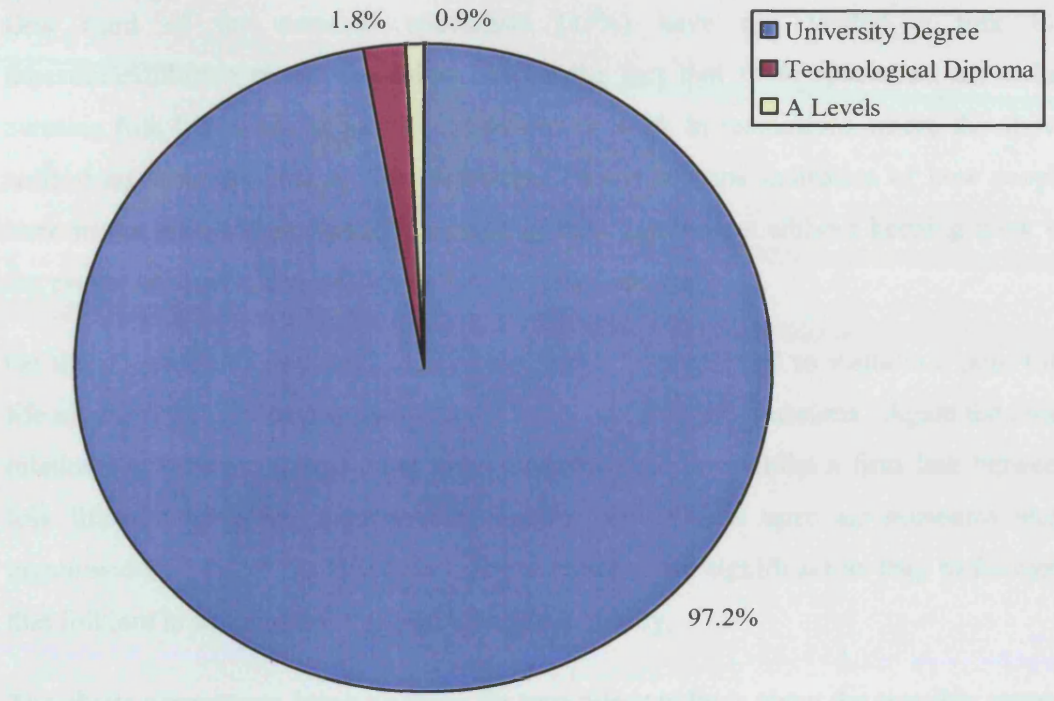
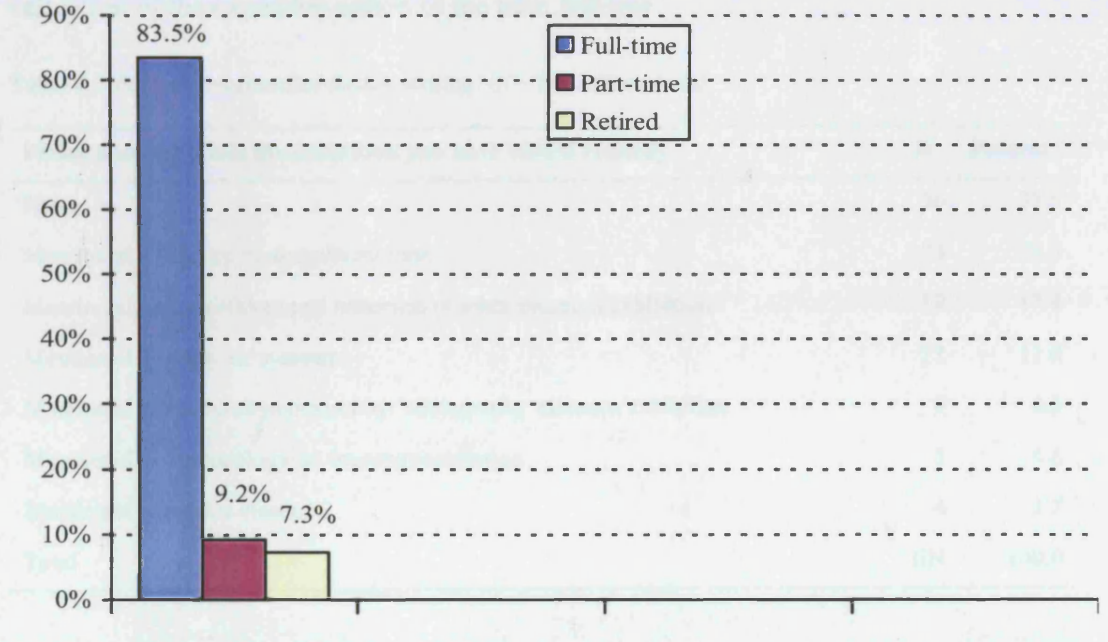


Figure 6.4 *Occupational status of museum specialists, N= 109 individuals*



6.3 Folk life museum/exhibition visiting

One third of the museum specialists (33%) have not visited a folk life museum/exhibition recently and this despite the fact that these specialists are either curating folk life or social history collections or work in institutions where the above collections form the core of their activities. This is perhaps indicative of how people once in the museum profession get stuck in their institutions without keeping track of the events or ideas and approaches of other organisations.

On the positive side however, 22% of the respondents referred to visits to a pure folk life museum and 17.4% mentioned both history and folk life museums. Again the close relationship between folklore and history came to the fore whilst a firm link between folk life and open-air museums also became apparent as open air museums were mentioned by 11% of the specialists. These linkages are significant as they make clear that folklore is an indispensable part of cultural history.

The above percentages leave no room for misunderstandings about the possible content of a folk life museum. Even in cases when respondents mentioned art or other exhibitions seemingly irrelevant to folklore - for example the *"Living and Dying Gallery"* at the British Museum or *"Below stairs: 400 years of servants' portraits"* exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery - they reported examples which implied validation of the expanded notion of the term folklore.

Table 6.1 *Folk life museum/exhibition visiting, (N= 109 respondents)*

Please name any folk life exhibition you have visited recently	N	Percent
None	36	33.0
Mentioned a folklore museum/exhibition	24	22.0
Mentioned both a folklore and historical or other museum/exhibition	19	17.4
Mentioned an open-air museum	12	11.0
Mentioned a history/city/community/ ethnography museum/exhibition	9	8.3
Mentioned an archaeology/art museum/exhibition	5	4.6
Mentioned any other museum	4	3.7
Total	109	100.0

6.4 The image of folklore among museum specialists

6.4.1 Introduction

In the two previous chapters, which presented museum visitors' opinions about folklore as well as folklore's presentation and interpretation in contemporary museums, folklore has been seen from a conventional perspective rather than through a contemporary prism. The museum specialists' views presented below are an interesting contribution to understanding the parochial image of folklore in contemporary museums and to opening up some new challenges for the 21st century folk museum.

6.4.2 Rural life

The relationship between folklore and rural life seems to be a close one, in the mind of the 109 specialists. Not only did all rural-related statements on the questionnaire (Q 3, Appendix II) accumulate high percentages (Figure 6.5) but approximately one in five museum specialists also referred to rural life when asked to describe the possible content of a folk life exhibition (21.1%) in response to the open-ended question 2 of the questionnaire (Appendix II). Responses to this open-ended question 2 included:

- "a folk life display ... should show the house and its functions, the rural life, and through these the embroidery, the costume, the jewellery"
- "objects related to rural life, sometimes in relevant settings, most times in show cases"
- "farm traditional rural life"
- "local, rural cultures, indigenous, threatened cultures"
- "peasant life"
- "domestic and agricultural/rural artefacts"
- "...a very rural centred exhibition rather than a town centred"
- "...rural material"
- "rural life and its connection to rural traditions, customs and beliefs"
- "objects, photographs, oral history/film footage relating to country life work and traditions"

- "...rural in character, pre-industrial, collections of rural work, pastime customs and domestic life. Probably stops between 1920-1940"
- "any displays about objects relating to life of everyday/ordinary people especially in agricultural/rural areas"

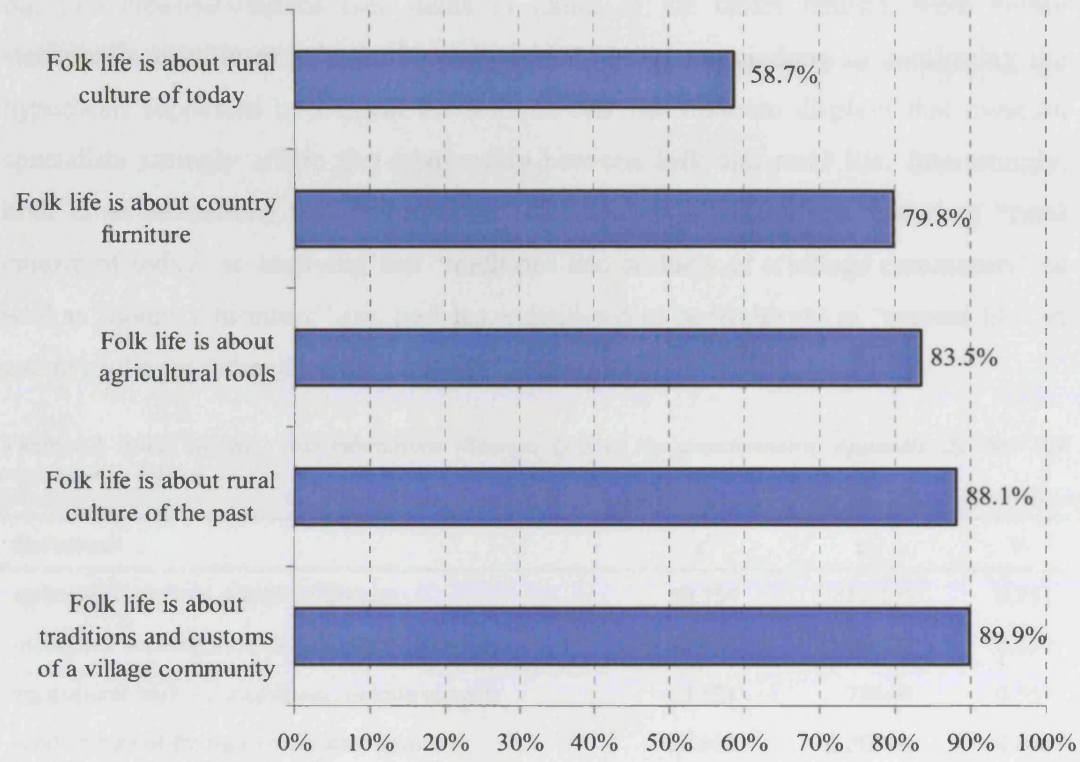
Furthermore, the world rural was either mentioned or implied by 16.5% of the respondents when they were asked to give their own definition of folklore (Q 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II):

- "folk life is the discipline that studies the traditions, the mores and customs, the way of life of a mainly rural society".
- "it's a fixed and rather naïf presentation of some aspects of the past especially rural life, customs and traditions"
- "life of ordinary people in rural areas"
- "folk life is a term of reference for a way of life now deemed to be lost or marginalised, essentially rural in character which has distinct language/dialects, costume, customs and material culture, understood as pre-industrial and self-contained"
- "to me folk life is about the lives of everyday folk, the ordinary person especially those in rural areas"
- "pre-industrial (mostly rural) culture and society"
- "the traditions and material culture of ordinary people in the past particularly in non-urban contexts"
- "folk life is the study of how people lived, especially in rural communities before the modern age of motorised transport and electronic communication"
- "folk life to me is a term associated with rural and small farm life in the past pre 1945, crafts, daily life and local traditions. In terms of museums it suggests a quaint way of displaying things with no connection to more contemporary history"
- "folk life suggests a limited part of social history relating only to rural traditions, and mainly those which have disappeared"
- "folk life is life based upon isolated rural existence"
- "folk life is centred on rural life and traditions. It is about people's experiences and the way in which they live their lives. It need not be limited to traditional farming practices and an idealised concept of the countryside. It can be very

relevant to people living in rural areas today and can embrace change as well as valuing the past"

- "the study and interpretation of rural communities from early times to the present day"

Figure 6.5 *Association of folk life with rural culture, (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each case*



To go back to rural-related statements from the predetermined list of items in question 3 of the questionnaire (Appendix II) almost half (48.1%) of the respondents selected all five statements, 30.6% chose four out of five and 7.4% three. So we only have 1 in 7 of the sample not linking rurality closely to the folklore concept. In addition, museum specialists did not appear to limit the bond between rurality and folklore to the past but tended to expand it further to the present as well. Thus, although the majority (88.1%) thought that "folk life is about rural culture in the past" more than half of the respondents (58.7%) selected the statement "folk life is about rural culture of the present" whereas 57.4% agreed that folk life is related to both the past and present rural way of life. This overwhelming bias towards "rurality" as a major folklore characteristic vividly suggests that museum people very consciously relate folklore to rural life and

this approach may provide an explanation for folk life museums' persistence in unthikingly emphasizing "rurality" in their displays.

As was the case with the visitors' survey chi-squared statistics were engaged to investigate statistically significant relationships and associations between the data. Tables 6.2 and 6.2a present findings from cross-tabulating rural culture related statements listed under question 3 of the questionnaire (Appendix II). As expected, all but two cross-tabulations (see items in italics in the tables below), were highly statistically significant at $p \leq 0.001$ and yielded strong associations so confirming the hypothesis supported by Critical Reviews of folk life museum displays that museum specialists strongly affirm the relationship between folk and rural life. Interestingly, both cross-tabulations that presented no statistical significance are related to "rural culture of today" so implying that "traditions and customs of a village community" as well as "country furniture" are, perhaps, considered to be irrelevant to "present life" in country villages rather than to "rural life" in general.

Table 6.2 *Rural culture cross-tabulations (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
agricultural tools vs. country furniture	60.954	5.8E(-15)	0.751
traditional cooking utensils vs. country furniture	46.924	7.4E(-12)	0.659
agricultural tools vs. traditional cooking utensils	33.524	7E(-9)	0.557
rural culture of the past vs. country furniture	26.601	2.5E(-7)	0.496
rural culture of the past vs. agricultural tools	26.398	2.8E(-7)	0.494
rural culture of the past vs. traditions and customs of a village community	16.875	4E(-5)	0.395
traditions and customs of a village community vs. agricultural tools	16.277	5.5E(-5)	0.388
traditions and customs of a village community vs. country furniture	11.572	0.001	0.327
rural culture of today vs. agricultural tools	4.800	0.028	0.211
rural culture of today vs. country furniture	*1.463*	*0.226*	*0.116*

Table 6.2a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

Statement	p	V
rural culture of today vs. rural culture of the past	0.003	0.306
Rural culture of today vs. traditions and customs of a village community	*0.737*	*0.060*

No unexpected findings were recorded when rural culture statements were cross-tabulated by identity, nationalism and popular culture (Table 6.3) and the results are basically on the same lines as the findings reported in the visitors' survey (section 5.2., chapter 5).

Interestingly, there is no statistical significance reported for examining curators' responses to "rural culture of the past" in relation to "cultural identity" or "nationalism" (Table 6.3a). This is a strange result given the fact that tangible objects of, and intangible practices in, rural areas in the past traditionally formed part of our rooting in, and searching for, national and cultural identity. The fact, however, that statistical significance is recorded both when "cultural identity" and "nationalism" are examined in relation to "rural culture of today" (Table 6.3 below) and also in relation to "pre-industrial times" (Table 6.11) may imply that the above findings are rather random and do not signify that the items are totally unrelated. A larger sample for a future study that would strictly focus on these matters could definitely provide clarification.

Table 6.3 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture and abstract notions of nationalism, cultural identity and popular culture (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of today vs. popular culture	45.510	1.5E(-11)	0.649
rural culture of the past vs. local identity	13.243	2.7E(-4)	0.350
rural culture of today vs. cultural identity	13.091	2.9E(-4)	0.348
rural culture of today vs. nationalism	12.926	3.2E(-4)	0.346
rural culture of today vs. local identity	9.131	0.003	0.291

Table 6.3a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

Statement	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. popular culture	*0.117*	*0.173*
rural culture of the past vs. cultural identity	*0.170*	*0.136*
rural culture of the past vs. nationalism	*1.000*	*0.022*

Cross-tabulations between rural culture items and items of material culture yielded no surprising results (Table 6.4). In most cases strong statistical significances and associations were reported whereas cases that presented no statistical significance (items in italics in Table 6.4) can be rather straightforwardly explained. For example, no associations are observed between "rural culture of today" and "country furniture"[22] probably because of the perception that the globalised market economy has corrupted

pure local production in recent years. The same could be the case for no significance reported between "rural culture of today" and "traditional cooking utensils"[14]. "Photographs"[17], on the other hand, though a documentation tool for the passing of rural culture, are not used for the same purpose today and perhaps this is reflected in the lack of association between the two.

Table 6.4 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture with material culture-related phrases (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. country furniture	26.601	2.5E(-7)	0.496
rural culture of the past vs. agricultural tools	26.398	2.8E(-7)	0.494
traditions and customs of a village community vs. agricultural tools	16.277	5.5E(-5)	0.388
rural culture of today vs. lace	11.663	0.001	0.329
traditions and customs of a village community vs. country furniture	11.572	0.001	0.327
rural culture of today vs. embroidery	11.513	0.001	0.326
traditions and customs of a village community vs. traditional cooking utensils	8.816	0.003	0.286
traditions and customs of a village community vs. clothing	5.642	0.018	0.229
rural culture of today vs. agricultural tools	4.800	0.028	0.211
rural culture of today vs. traditional cooking utensils[14]	*3.712*	*0.054*	*0.185*
rural culture of today vs. photographs[17]	*3.420*	*0.064*	*0.178*
rural culture of today vs. country furniture[22]	*1.463*	*0.226*	*0.116*

Table 6.4a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken.*

Statement	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. traditional cooking utensils	4.2E(-5)	0.474
rural culture of the past vs. embroidery	2E(-4)	0.396
rural culture of the past vs. clothing[10]	0.001	0.395
rural culture of the past vs. photographs	3E(-4)	0.384
rural culture of the past vs. lace	0.006	0.287
rural culture of today vs. clothing[10]	0.014	0.255

What is also worth noting here is that museum specialists', in contrast to museum visitors' perceptions, seem to strongly associate costume[10] with rural culture. This approach comes to no surprise as it is strongly reflected in contemporary folk museums where relating traditional best clothes to rural past environments is one of the

commonest display practices. Besides, many small regional museums focusing on folklore and local history have been created around a core collection of regional clothes.

Table 6.5 *Chi-squared tests between rural culture with intangible heritage (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
rural culture of today vs. city street culture[23]	43.958	3.4E(-11)	0.638
rural culture of today vs. birthday celebrations[29]	14.798	1.2E(-4)	0.370
rural culture of today vs. wedding receptions[30]	13.080	3E(-4)	0.348
rural culture of the past vs. festive celebrations	13.034	3E(-4)	0.347
traditions and customs of a village community vs. old traditions[8]	12.550	4E(-4)	0.341
rural culture of today vs. special dishes[13]	11.804	0.001	0.331
rural culture of today vs. music and songs[16]	11.784	0.001	0.330
rural culture of today vs. festive celebrations[31]	10.169	0.001	0.307
rural culture of today vs. markets[24]	9.620	0.002	0.298
rural culture of the past vs. markets	8.706	0.003	0.284
traditions and customs of a village community vs. music and songs	8.139	0.004	0.275
rural culture of today vs. dialects	7.289	0.007	0.260
rural culture of the past vs. city street culture	6.480	0.011	0.245
rural culture of the past vs. religion	4.513	0.034	0.204
rural culture of the past vs. birthday celebrations	3.899	0.048	0.190
rural culture of today vs. religion	*3.059*	*0.080*	*0.168*
rural culture of today vs. legends and fairy tales[9]	*1.981*	*0.159*	*0.135*

Table 6.5a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken.*

Statement	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. old traditions[8]	0.018	0.300
rural culture of the past vs. music and songs[16]	0.037	0.231
rural culture of the past vs. special dishes[13]	0.048	0.204

Rural culture related statements also yielded statistically significant results when cross-tabulated with items of intangible heritage (Table 6.5). Strong associations were observed again between "rural culture of today" and items that might more accurately present contemporary life such as "city street culture"[23], "birthday celebrations"[29], or "wedding receptions"[30]. These findings are, again, an obvious outcome from making associations with time concepts, rather than indicating associations with the rural element of folklore, as might be the cases for the cross-tabulations between "rural

culture of today" and "markets"[24], "special dishes"[13], and "music and songs"[16] or between "traditions and customs of a village community" or "rural culture of the past" with "old traditions"[8].

No statistical significance was recorded between "rural culture" and "legends and fairy tales"[9] perhaps because the same legends and fairy tales, adapted each time to different cultural patterns, are spread to all parts of societies, rural and urban and cannot thus be limited to one part only. Legends and fairy tales are, nonetheless, one of the special features of oral folklore which as William Bascom has put it is "a bridge between literary and non literary societies" (Bascom 1953, 284) who, in telling stories, formulate and carry them as part of their own cultural freight.

6.4.3 Local identity

As far as local identity is concerned it seems that museum specialists value it as an important folklore feature that both shapes and is shaped by cultural forms. Not only has it been selected by 85.2% of the respondents but significant associations were reported for various items so making clear that folkloric forms are thought of as bearers of key elements of collective regional consciousness.

As the survey results suggest, specialists of folk life and social history museums are well aware of how powerfully folkloric forms express and carry the perceived realities of regional life and identity, although their selections may imply certain limitations. The first observation is that regional identity is identified by them as a characteristic that is linked more to the past than to the present and this is revealed in cross-tabulations of "local identity" with "rural culture of the past"[20](Table 6.6a) and "pre-industrial times"[28] (Table 6.6). As already discussed in the Visitor Survey (chapter 5, section 5.4.3), this is not a peculiar finding and could be attributed to the issues of globalisation and homogenisation that have intruded on today's societies so distorting, perhaps, local characteristics.

Unsurprisingly, conventional folkloric forms such as "music and songs"[16], "festive celebrations"[31], "agricultural tools"[21], "clothing"[10], (Table 6.6a) also recorded strong associations when cross-tabulated with "local identity". Accordingly, cross-tabulations that yielded no statistical significance (items in italics in Table 6.6) refer to either more

general ideas such as "everyday life" and "manners and habits of a nation", or to concepts that throughout the years may have been linked to the notions of the "global" and "unified" such as "popular culture".

Table 6.6 *Chi-squared tests in relation to local identity (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

statement	χ^2	p	V
local identity vs. pre-industrial times[28]	12.094	0.001	0.335
local identity vs. markets[24]	10.879	0.001	0.317
local identity vs. rural culture of today	9.131	0.003	0.291
local identity vs. wedding receptions[30]	9.131	0.003	0.291
local identity vs. city street culture	6.956	0.008	0.254
local identity vs. birthday celebrations[29]	5.425	0.020	0.224
local identity vs. special dishes[13]	5.342	0.021	0.222
local identity vs. religion	5.342	0.021	0.222
local identity vs. popular culture	*3.762*	*0.052*	*0.187*
local identity vs. everyday life in the present	*1.433*	*0.231*	*0.115*
local identity vs. manners and habits of a nation	*0.667*	*0.414*	*0.079*

Table 6.6a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

Statement	p	V
local identity vs. rural culture of the past[20]	0.002	0.350
local identity vs. music and songs[16]	0.004	0.326
local identity vs. festive celebrations[31]	0.003	0.322
local identity vs. agricultural tools[21]	0.003	0.321
local identity vs. clothing[10]	0.006	0.316
local identity vs. traditions and customs of a village community	0.006	0.316
local identity vs. lace[12]	0.005	0.300
local identity vs. embroidery[11]	0.005	0.289
local identity vs. dialects[7]	0.010	0.265
local identity vs. everyday life in the past	0.026	0.251
local identity vs. cultural identity	0.024	0.241
local identity vs. photographs	*0.033*	*0.218*
local identity vs. nationalism	0.038	0.200

Finally, the significance attributed to the regional character of folklore is also evident in verbatim responses to the open-ended questions about the content of a folk life display

and the subject of the folklore discipline (Qs 2 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) and is revealed below in indicative replies:

- "a folk life display should be relevant to the region it refers...."
- "regional costumes, everything about regional life"
- "living/working conditions of the local population"
- "the regional local museums have farmers' life and crafts of the 19th century of their region and village. They have to present local history but not only in the past but in the present, they have to show cultural change, migrant people"
- "regional music, dances, poetry, regional costumes"
- "a combination of objects, text, oral histories and sound and moving images showing the history of a certain area (village, town, county, country) or a particular group of people"
- "folk life looks at the lives of ordinary people from a particular area, region, or country"
- "traditions and popular culture (past and present) relating to a particular community or geographical area"
- "...study of local/regional variations"
- "folk life encompasses all aspects of a regional culture, as distinct from a national one"
- "social and cultural history of local and regional experiences, including specific trades, crafts, customs, festivities etc. of some standing which may no longer exist but help to bring a feeling of identity"
- "very much a regional history including dialects, crafts, use of materials"
- "the customs, beliefs, mind set, ethos, psychology of the inhabitants of a region"

6.4.4 Past life

Regarding museum specialists' views about the relationship between folklore and the past, even a superficial look at the survey findings would conclude that the past is definitely considered a distinctive element of folklore. However, a strong tendency to relate folklore to present ways of life was also observed. A closer look to the results (Table 6.7) shows that almost 90% of the curators relate folklore to statements that

either contain the word past or overtly imply it as such, for example, the item "old traditions". Moreover, approximately 70% identify "pre-industrial times" as the period of time where folklore traditions flourished while more than a quarter of the respondents (28.7%) thought that folk life is "a past studied by academics".

Table 6.7 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the past (Source Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II),, N= 109 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about old traditions	102	94.4
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the past	99	91.7
Folk life is about rural culture of the past	96	88.9
Folk life is about pre-industrial times	74	67.9
Mentioned the word "past" in folklore definition	39	39.0
Folk life is about a past studied by academics	31	28.7

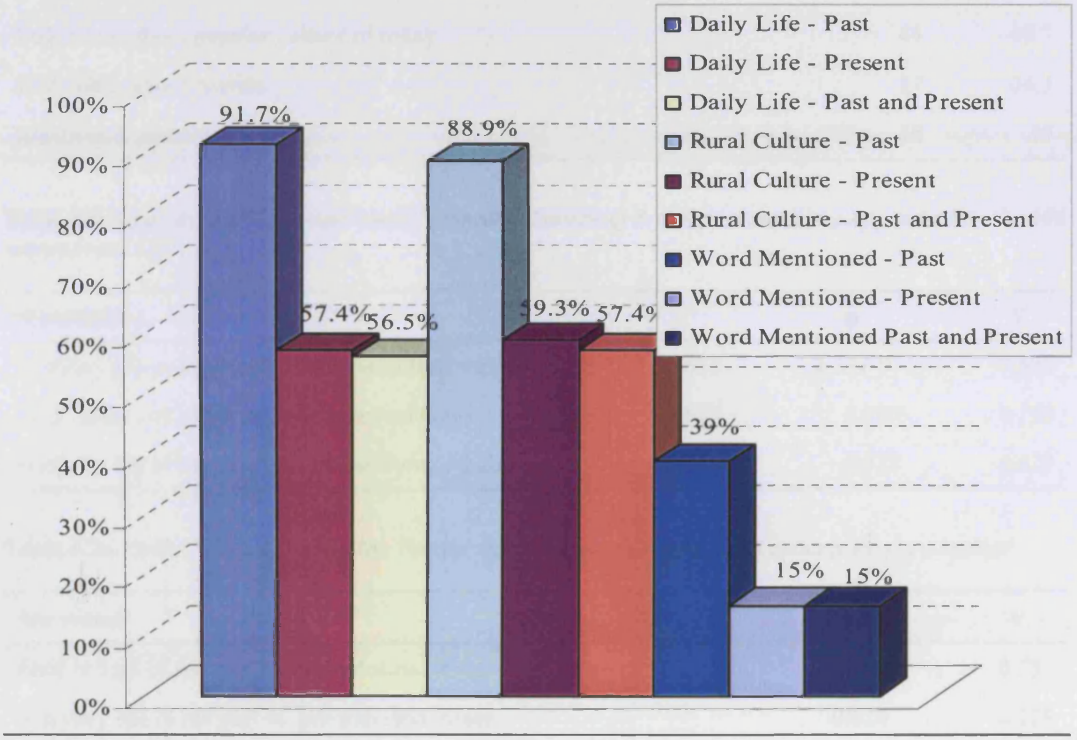
Furthermore, 39% either directly or indirectly referred to the past when asked to give their own definition of folklore (Q 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). A sample of these responses is offered below:

- "traditions, costumes, objects, something that has been left from the past"
- "the essence of the past, everything to do with it"
- "...there is a perception of it as an old-fashioned approach to the past- folk life is about the past itself while social history is a more contemporary approach to the past"
- "the study of life of previous generations for whom there is no written evidence"
- "...pre-industrial and self contained"
- "traditional, pre-mass production life"
- "the study and presentation of life in the past - recent and ancient - encompassing more traditional, domestic and working lives"
- "the study of how people lived, especially in rural communities - before the modern age of motorised transport and electronic communication"
- "a term associated with rural and small farm life in the past; pre - 1945"
- "the way ordinary people lived and the problems they encountered"
- "traditional way of life (domestic and working life) as lived pre-1800"

- "folk life provides information about people and places from the past from every day life experiences to customs and traditions"

Figure 6.6 provides a visual presentation of these findings about the past and the present individually and together. Despite the obvious preponderance of the past as the time period when folklore traditions flourished, several respondents also related folklore to the present. This finding, which reveals that for at least half of the specialists interviewed folklore is perceived as a part of culture that can be found both in past and present life expressions, is of particular importance, as it may signal a starting point of a change of attitudes in the way folklore is collected and subsequently interpreted and communicated in future museum displays.

Figure 6.6 *Folklore in relation to past and present (Source: Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each column*



The fact that respondents felt more secure when selecting broad statements about the relationship between folklore and the present and generally rather reserved when attributing to folklore specific elements of modern culture such as "city street culture", "movies" or "popular culture" (Table 6.8) may indicate on the one hand, that museum specialists are not very sure of what does or does not constitute modern folkloric forms

and on the other, that they now gradually start to appreciate modern cultural genres as possible folkloric expressions.

When statements of the same time period were cross-tabulated (Tables 6.9-6.9a) statistical significance was yielded for all cross-tabulations with the stronger association recorded between "everyday life in the present" and "rural culture of today". Cross-tabulations between statements of differing time spans reported no statistical significance or associations.

Table 6.8 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the present (Source: Qs 3 and 13 the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about rural culture of the present	64	59.3
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the present	62	57.4
Folk life is about city street culture	46	42.6
Folk life is about popular culture of today	44	40.7
Folk life is about movies	37	34.3
Mentioned: present	15	15

Table 6.9 *Time dimension: "past" and "present" (Source Q 3 the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
everyday life in the present vs. rural culture of today	36.522	1.5E(-9)	0.582
rural culture of today vs. pre-industrial times	*3.059*	*0.080*	*0.168*
everyday life in the past vs. rural culture of today	*0.056*	*0.813*	*0.023*

Table 6.9a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

Statement	p	V
rural culture of the past vs. pre-industrial times	0.001	0.331
everyday life in the past vs. pre-industrial times	0.026	0.228
everyday life in the past vs. rural culture of the past	0.041	0.213

Tables 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12 (on pages 251-252) present relationships between past/present and intangible heritage (Table 6.10), notions of identity and nationalism (Table 6.11) and material culture (Table 6.12).

As can be seen from these tables there is a difference between the probabilities and associations recorded in cross-tabulations with "everyday life of the past" and those in cross-tabulations with "pre-industrial times" (Tables 6.10, 6.11, 6.12). This may well be because the term "pre-industrial times" suggests a more distant past in contrast to the phrase "everyday life in the past" which (as in the case of visitors) may imply the more recent past to curators as well.

However, the fact that there are also differences - instead of approximately similar results that would imply the hidden notion of rurality behind the statement "pre-industrial times" - in chi-squared values for cross-tabulations with "rural culture of the past" and cross-tabulations with "pre-industrial times" makes another speculation possible. Perhaps, irrespective of rural or urban environments "pre-industrial times", for museum curators, refers in general to the period of time before the life of ordinary people was shaped by the process of industrialisation. If we bear in mind that "industrialisation seems by its very nature to be hostile to community and tradition ... [and that it] has been perceived and judged almost exclusively from the point of view of uprooting, disruption and stereotyping" (Braun 1990, 2) then stronger associations can be expected between folkloric items and times when old crafts, working patterns, long lasting customs and traditional forms of community had not yet been altered by the invasion of industrialisation and industrial labour. This is particularly the case for many items of intangible heritage ("birthday celebrations"[29], "markets"[24], "movies"[15] – perhaps seen as a documentation tool – "wedding receptions"[30], "special dishes"[13], "city street culture"[23], "religion"[32], "music and songs"[16], "manners and habits of a nation"[1], all in Table 6.10) for "cultural identity"[26], "nationalism"[25] and "popular culture"[18] (Table 6.11) and for "lace"[12] (Table 6.12).

On the contrary, for the case of material folkloric forms it is the rural element of folklore that prevails and therefore records the stronger associations. This is also obvious when we compare the associations of "everyday life in the past" and "rural culture of the past" where "rural culture" records the higher values (Table 6.12). With the exception of "lace"[12], "embroidery"[11] and "clothing"[10] which report associations both with the past and the present – though the rural one - all the material culture items are more closely associated with the past (Table 6.12).

This is not the case for items of intangible heritage where the majority yield associations both with the past and the present. However, some of these items present stronger

associations to one or the other and this is due to either their own nature ("movies"[15] for example is present oriented) or to how these items are very likely perceived by museum curators (for example "religion"[32] and "old traditions"[8] report stronger associations with the rural past whilst "dialects"[7] present strong values when cross-tabulated with the rural present, see Table 6.10). Nevertheless, these respondents are specialists so they are supposed to have a deeper understanding and perception not only of specific time periods but of isolated folkloric genres and forms and it is perhaps this extra knowledge that does not allow the formation of a generalised and consistent pattern in the data. Furthermore, the circumstance that the majority of items of an intangible nature that were related by specialists to the present, retain stronger associations with the "rural culture of today" - even if they could probably be expected to have either strong associations with both "everyday life in the present" and "rural culture of today" or on the other hand, with "everyday life in the present" alone ("movies"[15] or "city street culture"[23]) - may imply that people who presently work in folklore museums keep thinking traditionally when considering folklore, mainly having in mind traditional "living cultures" of the more isolated countryside of today rather than everyday populations of urban areas (see for example the exhibition at the Museum of Greek Folk Art entitled *"Olympos on Karpathos: ethnographic pictures of today"* which presented the traditions and customs of an isolated community). This is however a false conception of the term "living cultural heritage" itself, which, as Steve Zeitlin has clearly postulated, suggests "the documentation, interpretation, and presentation of traditions within living memory – as opposed to events that predate memory, and are, in a sense, purely historical" (Back and Charnow 2002, 128) and not particularly the traditions of remote rural areas where the way of life of the past has been vividly preserved as a kind of "relict culture".

Interestingly, "legends and fairy tales"[9] yielded no statistical significance when cross-tabulated to past and present whereas "manners and habits of a nation"[1] presented associations only with "everyday life" but not with "rural culture".

"Local identity" presents associations with both past and present. Finally, "cultural identity" and "nationalism", perhaps due to the phenomenon of modern multicultural societies, and "popular culture" as a notion *a priori* related to the contemporary, are more strongly related to the present than to the past.

Table 6.10 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between intangible heritage and past/present (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). When chi-squared values are not reported then p= Fisher's Exact Probability. EL = Everyday Life and RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to Everyday Life and the second to Rural Culture, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
birthday celebrations[29]	7.121 / 14.798	0.008 / 1.2E(-4)	0.257 / 0.370	- / 3.899	*0.085* / 0.048	*0.179* / 0.190	15.944	6.5E(-5)	0.384
markets[24]	5.512 / 9.620	0.019 / 0.002	0.226 / 0.298	- / 8.706	0.039 / 0.003	0.208 / 0.284	18.182	2E(-5)	0.410
movies[15]	10.123 / 11.101	0.001 / 0.001	0.306 / 0.321	- / -	*0.489 / 0.213*	*0.065 / 0.131*	8.424	0.004	0.279
festive celebrations [31]	*2.257* / 10.169	*0.133* / 0.001	*0.145* / 0.307	- / -	0.070 / 0.002	0.190 / 0.347	11.186	0.001	0.322
wedding receptions[30]	*0.801* / 13.080	*0.371* / 3E(-4)	*0.086* / 0.348	- / -	*0.155 / 0.222*	*0.159 / 0.127*	14.880	1.1E(-4)	0.371
traditions and customs of a village community[2]	*0.030* / -	*0.862 / 0.737*	*0.017 / 0.060*	- / -	0.004 / 0.001	0.366 / 0.395	-	0.069	0.196
dialects[7]	*0.026* / 7.289	*0.871* / 0.007	*0.016* / 0.260	- / -	*1000 / 0.144*	*0.007 / 0.155*	*1.094*	*0.296*	*0.101*
special dishes	5.346 / 11.804	0.021 / 0.001	0.222 / 0.331	- / 4.513	*0.458* / 0.034	*0.084* / 0.204	25.393	4.7E(-7)	0.485
legends and fairy tales	*2.566 / 1.981*	*0.109 / 0.159*	*0.154 / 0.135*	- / -	*1.000 / 0.730*	*0.031 / 0.052*	*3.274*	*0.070*	*0.174*
city street culture[23]	32.979 / 43.958	9.3E(-9) / 3.4E(-11)	0.553 / 0.638	- / 6.480	0.075 / 0.011	0.192 / 0.245	12.629	3.7E(-4)	0.342
religion [32]	*2.173 / 3.059*	*0.140 / 0.080*	*0.142 / 0.168*	- / -	*0.458* / 0.048	*0.084* / 0.204	10.594	0.001	0.313
music and songs[16]	10.674 / 11.784	0.001 / 0.001	0.314 / 0.330	- / 5.783	0.075 / 0.016	0.197 / 0.231	-	0.003	0.301
old traditions[8]	- / -	*1.000 / 1.000*	*0.045 / 0.037*	- / 9.728	0.414 / 0.002	*0.073* / 0.300	-	*0.077*	*0.184*
manners and habits of a nation[1]	6.145 / *0.001*	0.013 / *0.976*	0.239 / *0.003*	- / -	2E(-4) / *1.000*	0.364 / *0.007*	*3.059*	*0.080*	*0.168*

Table 6.11 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between notions of local identity, cultural identity, nationalism, popular culture and past/present (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). . When chi-squared values are not reported then p= Fisher's Exact Probability. EL = Everyday Life and RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to Everyday Life and the second to Rural Culture, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
local identity[27]	*1.433* / 9.131	*0.231* / 0.003	*0.115* / 0.291	6.830 / 13.243	0.009 / 2.7E(-4)	0.251 / 0.350	12.094	0.001	0.335
cultural identity	18.227 / 13.091	1.9E(-5) / 2.9E(-4)	0.411 / 0.348	- / 2.000	*0.223* / 0.157	*0.135* / 0.136	9.672	0.002	0.299
nationalism	8.671 / 12.924	0.003 / 3.2E(-4)	*0.283* / 0.346	- / 0.052	*0.706* / 0.820	*0.037* / 0.022	4.226	0.040	0.198
popular culture	49.367 / 45..510	2.1E(-12) / 1.5E(-11)	0.582 / 0.649	3.570 / 3.241	0.059 / 0.072	0.182 / 0.173	8.347	0.004	0.278

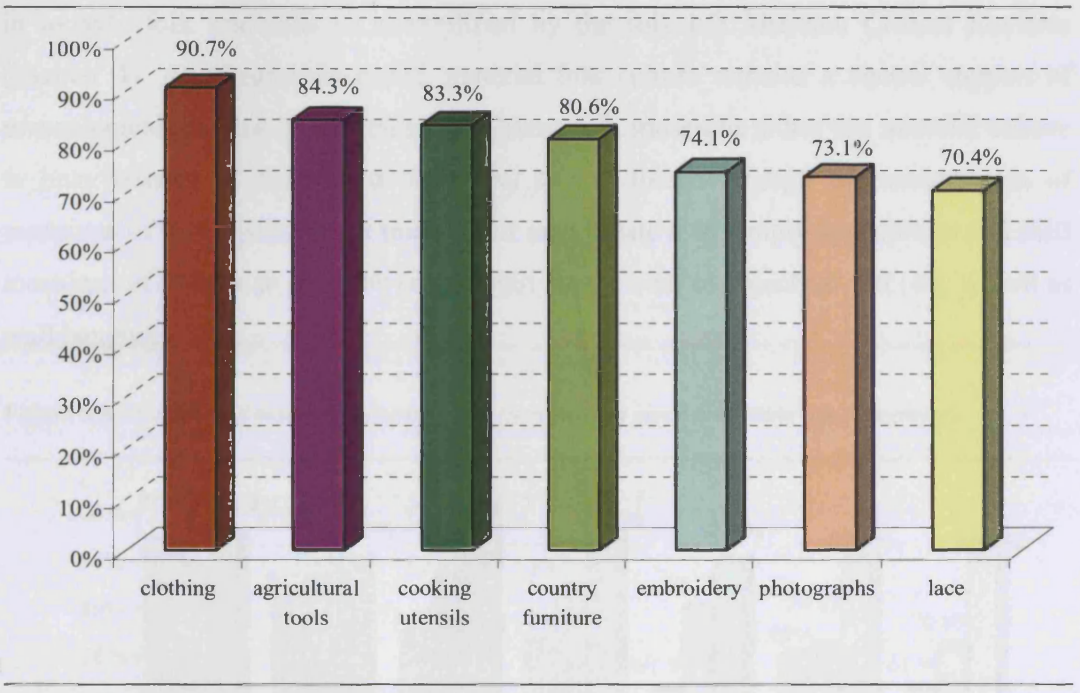
Table 6.12 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics between features of material culture and past/present (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). When chi-squared values are not reported then p= Fisher's Exact Probability. EL = Everyday Life and RC= Rural Culture. The first number in a cell refers to Everyday Life and the second to Rural Culture, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	Present			Past			Pre-industrial times		
	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2 (EL / RC)	p (EL / RC)	V (EL / RC)	χ^2	p	V
country furniture	*1.022 / 1.463*	*0.312 / 0.226*	*0.097 / 0.116*	/ 26.601	0.070 / 2.5E(-7)	0.190 / 0.496	19.286	1.1E(-5)	0.423
lace[12]	*3.469* / 11.663	*0.063* / 0.001	*0.179* / 0.329	- / -	*0.446* / 0.006	*0.098* / 0.287	20.283	6.7E(-6)	0.433
traditional cooking utensils[14]	*0.485 / 3.712*	*0.486 / 0.054*	*0.067 / 0.184*	- / 24.300	*0.170* / 8.2E(-7)	*0.135* / 0.474	12.397	4.3E(-4)	0.339
agricultural tools	*0.884* / 4.800	*0.347* / 0.028	*0.090* / 0.211	/ 26.398	0.005 / 2.8E(-7)	0.330 / 0.494	18.931	1.4E(-5)	0.419
embroidery[11]	5.077 / 11.513	0.024 / 0.001	0.217 / 0.326	1.753 / 16.929	0.185 / 3.9E(-5)	0.127 / 0.396	18.858	1.4E(-5)	0.418
photographs[17]	6.150 / *3.420*	0.013 / *0.064*	0.239 / *0.178*	/ 15.934	0.057 / 6.6E(-5)	0.195 / 0.384	10.316	0.001	0.309
clothing[10]	- / 7.036	*0.094* / 0.008	*0.177* / 0.255	/ 16.875	0.036 / 4E(-5)	0.250 / 0.395		0.010	0.265

6.4.5 *Material culture*

Material culture items accumulated more than 70% of museum specialists' selections when asked to respond to question 3 of the questionnaire (Appendix II). "Clothing" was the most favoured item (90.7 %) with "agricultural tools" and "cooking utensils" following with 84.3% and 83.3% respectively (Figure 6.7). When cross-tabulated all data yielded high statistical significances and associations (Tables V.2 and V.2a, Appendix V).

Figure 6.7 *Folklore and material culture, N= 109 respondents in each case*



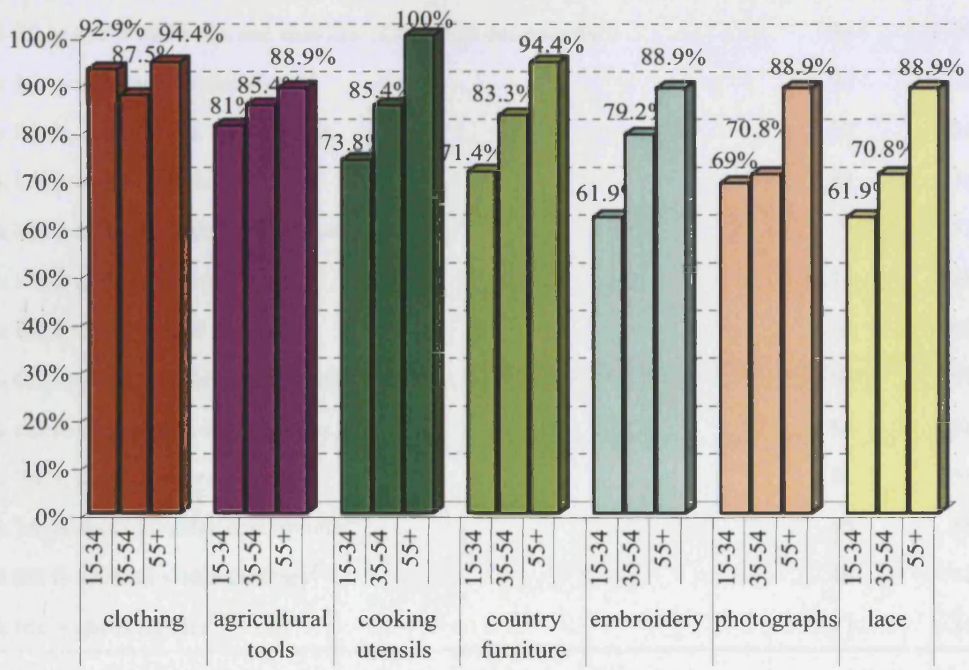
Moreover, "objects" was the most often mentioned word (60.6%) in the replies to the open-ended question "What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?" (Table V.3, Appendix V) while, as shown below from these randomly selected verbatim responses, material evidence in general, was strongly associated with folk life displays (Q 2 of the questionnaire, Appendix II):

- "domestic life, costume, traditional handicrafts"
- "artefacts, art objects of the recent past, things that are disappearing very quickly"
- "material culture of the working classes, especially 19th century"
- "costumes, labour objects, objects of everyday life"

- "more usually the presentation of costumes, houses and crafts"
- "objects of all aspects of life"
- "mainly original objects of everyday life and not too many reconstructions"
- "traditional costumes, jewellery, embroidery, tools, vessels and objects of everyday use"
- "all kinds of objects related with specific culture"
- "a very broad range of objects which can tell something about current day life and historical roots"

These findings are in complete harmony with the central place that material culture has in today's folk museums as exemplified by the folk life Museum Critical Reviews (chapter 4). As already discussed, material folk culture remains a central support of museological practice in folk museums. Many folk museums either use material culture to help visitors to understand the social life of things through the construction of meanings of the objects in the museum or manipulate it to simply appropriate and shift meanings of objects as artefacts (e.g. a quilt for the bed) to objects as art (e.g. a quilt as wall hanging).

Figure 6.8 *Folklore and material culture by age (percentages given are within age categories)*



When data were examined by age, a trend of "the older the person the more likely s/he was to choose object-related statements" (Figure 6.8) was observed. In fact, in all instances, save the selection of "clothing", the percentages increase in responses mirrored the pattern of aging i.e. there is a flexibility in age range 15-34 but objects take over as age rises and in every instance people aged 55+ recorded slightly higher percentage for choices of the "objects" offered.

6.4.6 Intangible heritage

With the exception of "movies"[15] (34.3%) and "city street culture"[23] (42.6%) which were considered as related to folklore by less than 50% of museum specialists - probably because of the contemporary character of these items - all intangible heritage items were strongly favoured by the respondents, with response percentages ranging from 51.4% for "birthday celebrations"[29] to 94.4% for "old traditions"[8] (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13 *Folk life and intangible heritage (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each case*

Statement	N	%
Folk life is about old traditions[8]	10	94.4
Folk life is about traditions and customs of a village community[2]	98	90.7
Folk life is about music and songs[16]	95	88
Folk life is about festive celebrations	87	80.6
Folk life is about dialects	83	76.9
Folk life is about legends and fairy tales	79	73.1
Folk life is about religion	74	68.5
Folk life is about special dishes	74	68.5
Folk life is about manners and habits of a nation	64	59.3
Folk life is about wedding receptions	64	58.7
Folk life is about markets	61	56.5
Folk life is about birthday celebrations[29]	56	51.4
Folk life is about city street culture[23]	46	42.6
Folk life is about movies[15]	37	34.3

Conventional folkloric forms such as "old traditions"[8], "traditions and customs of a village community"[2], and "music and songs"[16] constitute the top three items (Table

6.13). This outcome is perhaps indicative of museum specialists' awareness of what constitutes traditional folklore and what does not. The fact that the first two items imply past and rural life respectively, further point towards this direction.

Most of the intangible culture related items yielded statistically significant results when cross tabulated (Table V.4, Appendix V). However, when "traditions and customs of a village community", "dialects", "old traditions" and "manners and habits of a nation" were cross-tabulated with other intangible heritage items, they did not yield in many cases statistically significant results. In fact, in all the above cases chi-squared assumptions are broken (one cell has expected values less than 5). This lack of significance can be accounted for by the combination of the sample size and the low numbers of specialists given responses which provided data for certain cells. Although chi-squared tests can be appropriate for a sample as small as 40, the larger the sample the more likely it is to receive statistically significant results. In this case however, an increase of the sample to more than 109, which would perhaps make chi-squared tests illuminating, is not feasible due to the time limit of the study; the scarcity of museum professionals who work in the folk life field; and limits to the number of social history museums which might have a folklore expert.

Nevertheless, this lack of statistical significance and therefore association for the above cases may perhaps be explained by a possible curatorial attitude of looking at intangible folkloric forms in isolation rather than as a grouping, which comprises the intangible aspect of culture. This outlook could perhaps be expected from people who are accustomed to categorising and classifying culture, usually in the museum professional manner. It might also be the case that since intangible heritage has recently crossed the museum threshold and museum people, at least those interviewed, although they assert intangible heritage's significance in choosing all intangible culture related statements, are much more reserved in confirming any interrelations and interdependence of those forms, especially when these are considered in the museum context. This reservation is perhaps reflected in the lack of statistically significant results at this time.

What is, however, more important is that museum people see intangible heritage as a natural complement of material culture, the two constituting a cultural entity which should be as such represented in folk life museums. This is apparent on the one hand in the majority of high statistical significance and associations in cross-tabulations between material and immaterial culture-related items (Table V.5, Appendix V) and on

the other hand in the verbatim responses given to the open-ended question "What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?" (Q 2 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). A randomly selected sample of responses is offered below:

- "representative objects, audiovisual material, music and songs, narratives, legends, jokes..."
- "manners and customs through objects and other evidence"
- "representations of everyday life in the past: traditional costumes, photographic material, objects, recorded oral evidence of everyday life"
- "costumes, objects either decorative or of everyday use, manners, customs, traditions for everyday life"
- "objects from everyday life of the people such as costumes, jewellery, domestic items, tools, musical instruments, furniture, objects of popular art, and so on. Also the collection of traditions, legends, fairy tales, music and songs of a people"
- "exposition of historical development of folk customs, habits, and so on, with objects shown in context"
- "basic essentials of people's life, houses, clothes, tools, festivals"
- "vernacular furniture, traditional dress, crafts, vernacular building styles, folk art, dialects, traditional food, music, photographs, folk beliefs and superstitions"
- "period rooms, religion, faith, work, not only material documentation but immaterial culture (religion and superstition)"
- "photographs, objects, oral history recordings, film relating to people's lives. It should display things in such a way that visitors are interested in the subject"
- "a well balanced mixture of material culture from past and present, together with ephemera such as photographs/moving images, spoken narrative, music"
- "everyday life for everything, sleeping, eating, clothes, everything"

This interdependence between material culture and intangible heritage becomes even more striking if we take into consideration that the majority of experts (64.2%), when asked to give their own definition of folklore, referred to "way of life" (Table V.6, Appendix V), which comprises elements from both tangible and intangible heritage. At the same time the statement "everyday life of ordinary people in the past" was the

second most selected item (91.7%) when choosing from a multiple choice list (the first was "old traditions" with 94.4% and the third "clothing" and "traditions and customs of a village community", both with 90.7%). The link between tangible and intangible aspects of culture, especially when reported by museum professionals, is of particular importance as it may lead to a better integration of the two in contemporary and future folk life museum displays so transforming the current museum image where material culture predominates.

The relationship of folklore to additional abstract ideas is presented in Table 6.14. "Local" and "cultural identity" are reported as closely related to folklore whilst more than half of these museum professionals recognize an association between folklore and contemporary living. Also 40.7% of the respondents agreed that folklore is about "popular culture" so again tending towards associating folk culture with contemporary aspects of life. However, minority views are revealed when investigating links between folklore and academia, museums and nationalism. In this case just 1 in 3 museum professionals agreed that "folk life is a past studied by academics" and identified a nationalistic element in folklore while only around a quarter of the sample considered folklore as "something that belongs to museums". An interpretation of this finding, could be that those working in folk life museums or museums with folk life collections do not perceive folklore as something likely to lead to career promotion. They do not see it as academically credible (or available as it is in the USA) and so through intellectual snobbery, ignorance, or current European museological fashion they may think that folk life collections are a waste of time.

Table 6.14 *Items ranked as more closely related to folklore (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each case*

Folk life is about	**N**	**%**
everyday life of ordinary people in the past	99	91.7
local identity	92	85.2
cultural identity	81	75.0
everyday life of ordinary people in the present	62	57.4
popular culture of today	44	40.7
a past studied by academics	31	28.7
nationalism	30	27.8
something that belongs to museums	26	24.1

Exploration of cross-tabulations between a range of varied items and "cultural identity", "popular culture", "nationalism", "a past studied by academics" were conducted and

those statistics are provided in Tables V.7- V.11 in Appendix V. In several of the non statistically significant outcomes however, chi-squared assumptions were broken so implying that the sample was not robust enough to support probability statistics for unpopular responses. Observed values however, indicate that if further research is taken on these issues the outcomes will be likely to be different and more associations will be revealed.

Last but not least, almost thirty-two percent of museum professionals offered further suggestions about folklore (Q 4 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) and several amongst them suggested modern cultural aspects so making clear, again, that it is time to broaden folklore horizons in order to embrace more contemporary issues. The following verbatim responses focus on modern themes:

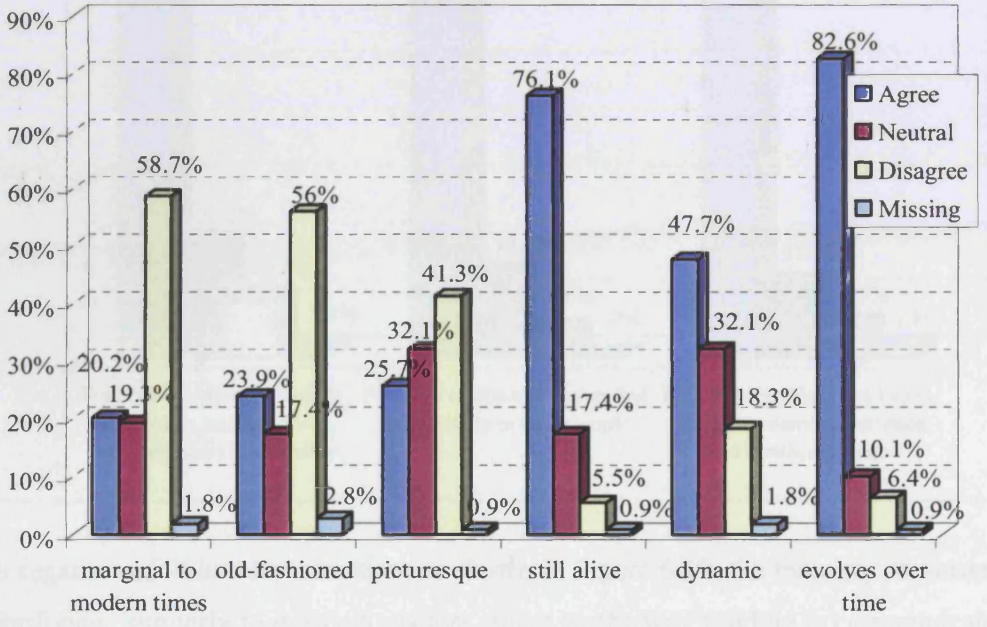
- "urban societies, marginal groups, minorities and communities, all social classes"
- "differences and similarities between past and present life"
- "life after WWII"
- "all kind of material culture can be of interest for a folk life museum. One has to look behind the objects, to find out all layers behind objects, to put things that people already know into a new context. Other areas of interest could be body language, leisure time, mother 's day from the political point of view"
- "city life, everyday culture of all people, not only natives of local area but also life of new people, immigrants of the present"
- "the whole life cycle of birth and death – economic and social history just to expand the way of life"
- "many, many other things: memory, gifts, fashion, migration, education, rites de passage, advertisements, sport, status"
- "I think anything relating to people's ordinary, everyday lives - whether that be in the past or present; whether material culture or intangible, like customs, beliefs, oral narrative and music sums it up pretty well"
- "industrial history, urban life, transport"
- "children's toys and material culture related to animals"

6.4.7 *Attitudes towards folk life*

Although one might expect people who work in folklore and social history museums to have more confident opinions about the subject of their work the survey findings reveal that museum specialists approach folklore with the same ambiguous feelings as visitors. Thus, although the general attitude appears to be positive - 82.6% believe that "folklore evolves over time" and 76.1% that it is "still alive" - as many as an average of almost a quarter of the sample (23%) ascribed negative characteristics to folklore whilst 1 to 5 opted for neutral descriptive options (Figure 6.9 below). It seems that a proportion of the museum experts were not happy with either the name or the subject matter of their discipline and openly express this negative attitude by attributing negative characteristics to it. A possible explanation of this attitude may be provided by the following remark of Alan Dundes, who, with reference to the current situation in the USA observes:

> "the combination of a lack of new grand theory and the failure to counter the effective efforts of numerous amateurs and dilettantes who have successfully claimed possession of the field of folklore as their fiefdom has understandably led to a public perception of folkloristics as a weak academic discipline, a perception unfortunately too often shared by college and university administrators" (Dundes 2005, 393).

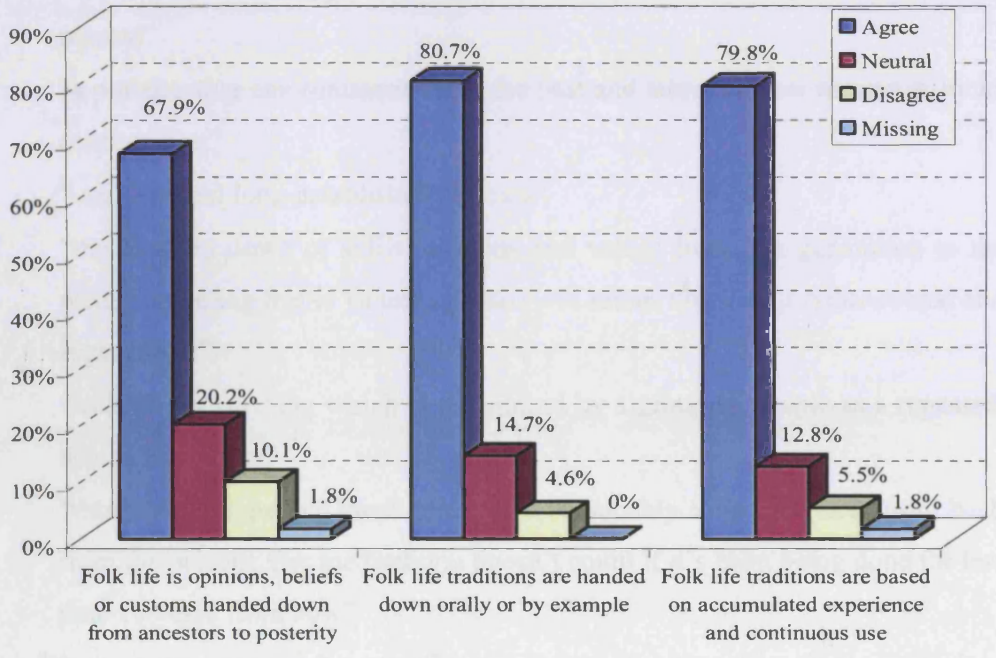
Figure 6.9 *Specialists' attitudes towards folk life (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each set of columns*



Perhaps the fact that in Europe professional folklorists are also outnumbered by amateurs or by specialists from other disciplines may provide a reliable explanation for the large percentages of neutral responses in this survey. It is the case that funding to support the academic study of folklore in Europe is very low or not existent if we take origin of research papers on the subject into consideration. In fact, museum professionals who curate folklore collections do not necessarily hold a folklore specialisation and there is actually only a small minority who have an up to date awareness of academic theoretical folklore issues. This lack of academic interrogation of the subject in Europe is apparent in the majority of verbatim responses regarding a possible definition of folklore (which is mainly defined as old rural traditional way of life, see sections 6.4.2. and 6.4.4.).

Additionally, the circumstance that British universities do not award folklore degrees (see chapter 2, section 2.9), and the fact that 61.5% of our sample is British, further support the above interpretation.

Figure 6.10 *Specialists' attitudes towards transmission of folklore (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each set of columns*



With regards to folklore transmission, as shown in Figure 6.10, the majority of museum professionals, similarly to museum visitors, agree on the way folklore is communicated. In response to question 5 of the questionnaire (Appendix II) which explored this issue

they appeared to be most confident when asserting the oral, unofficial, transmission of folklore (80.7%) and its foundation in lived experience (79.8%) and a little more reticent (67.9%) when offered the statement "folk life is opinions, beliefs, or customs handed down from ancestors to posterity". This reserve may be because the word "posterity" did not seem to imply a dynamic, lively character.

However, the experts who drew in their verbatim responses a modern face for tradition were very few and the majority emphasised the conventional idea of tradition as something which is transmitted through the generations. The following verbatim responses (Q 14 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) offer indicative interpretations of tradition:

- "an accumulated community experience which is still evolving"
- "current, modern, everyday things and ways of life are influenced by traditions. Tradition is not something that happened in the past but it is evolving and it is dynamic"
- "tradition is something passed down through generations. Traditions are however evolving and new traditions can develop"
- "something from the past, handed down for the future and modified to the present"
- "a practice that has continued from the past and taken on new meanings by its continuation"
- "conventional long-established customs"
- "the handing down of skills, customs and values from one generation to the next. Something that is valued and survives rather than being rediscovered and regenerated"
- "tradition is anything which is recognised by a group of people as a repeated, symbolic activity"
- "things/actions people have done for a reasonably long time stretching back from the present. For me tradition doesn't count if it's been being done for less than 10 years from now"
- "repeated and passed on orally within communities through time and so becomes part of the identity of that community as well as key to its survival"

Figure 6.11 *Curators' attitudes towards folklore by age (Source: Qs 5 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each set of columns*

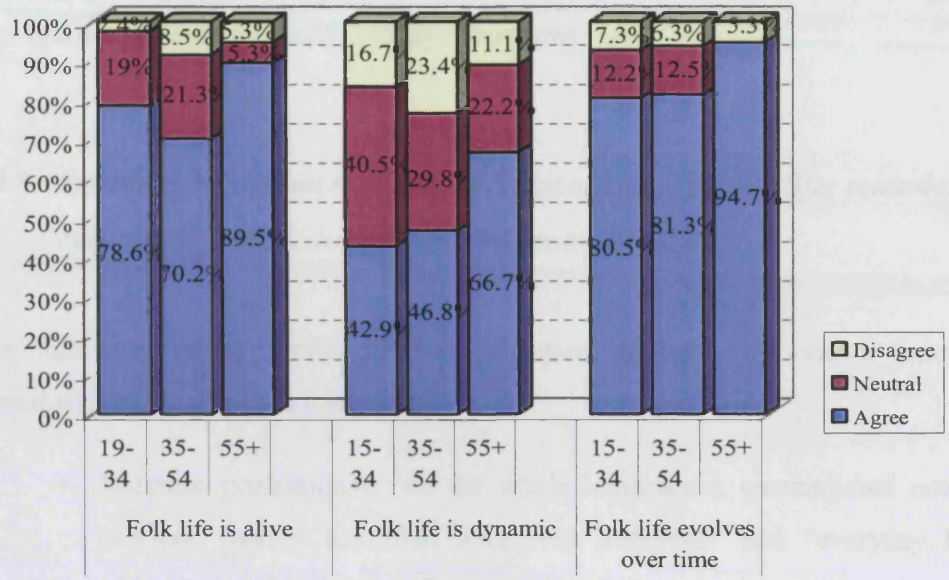
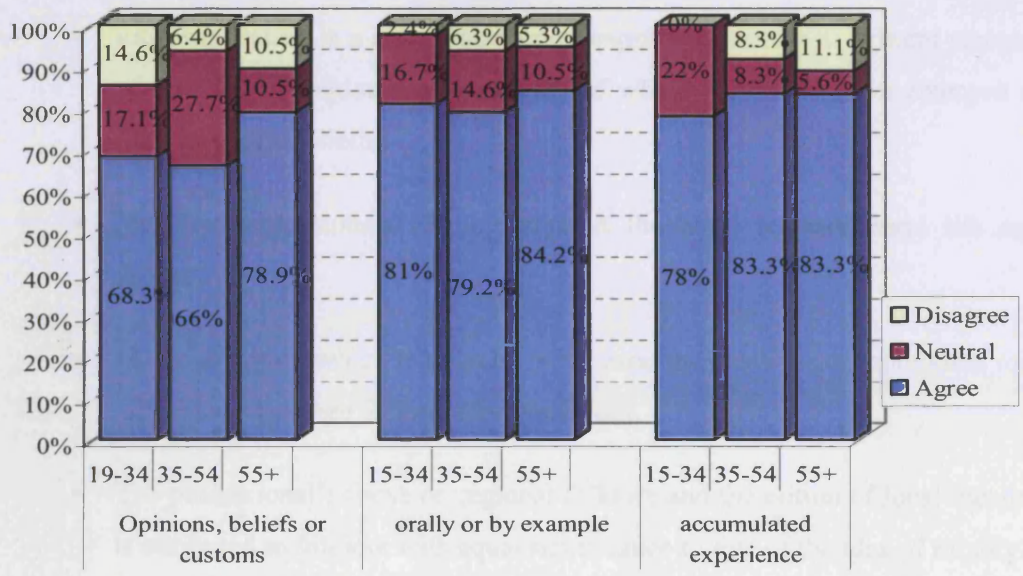


Figure 6.12 *Specialists' attitudes towards folklore's transmission by age (Source: Qs 5 and 16 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents in each set of columns*



Lastly, although the purpose of the specialist survey was to identify general views about folklore in order to elucidate the presentation of folklore in museums, and to possibly identify communication gaps with visitors, rather than investigating variations by the demographic variables of the specialists, the age variable provided some slight variations when examined in relation to attitudes towards folklore. In particular, older

professionals appeared to be more positive and more confident in thinking about folklore as exemplified by their choosing of less neutral replies (Figures 6.11 and 6.12). These, however, are minor differences of view which do not seem to play a key role in how folklore is communicated in today's museums.

6.4.8 Summary of section 6.4: rural life; local identity; past life; material culture; intangible heritage; attitudes to folk life

The following points which illustrate museum professional's views have been illuminated by the previous analysis:

- Museum professionals, on the whole, embrace a conventional notion of folklore, mainly identified with "old traditions" and "everyday life of ordinary people in the past".
- "The past" itself constitutes a distinctive element of folklore. The past which is more closely associated with folklore is seen as a more distant past rather than the recent past of the twentieth century.
- Industrialisation is a crucial starting point in categorizing a cultural element of the past as folkloric irrespectively of whether it might have emerged in rural or urban societies.
- Museum professionals strongly support the bond between rural life and folklore.
- Material culture which is oriented in the rural past plays an incontestable role in folkloric heritage for museum specialists.
- The professional's focus on regional folklore and the notion of local identity is attributed to folklore with equal significance to that of the idea of rurality.
- Local identity however, which appears to be better expressed through "music and songs", "festive celebrations" and "costumes", is thought to have been stronger in the past.

- Intangible heritage is considered significant and is largely considered relevant to both past and present.

- Tangible and intangible heritage are thought to be linked and interdependent. They constitute a cultural entity within which folklore flourishes. This realization may lead progressively to an innovative amalgamation of the two in folk life museums.

- "The present" seems to be gradually gaining more ground in experts' thoughts and so, progressively, modern cultural forms may start being appreciated as folkloric in character.

- Rural folk culture is not always thought of as something limited to the past but, also, as something that expands into the present.

- Finally, although the general attitude towards folklore appears to be positive, there are many museum professionals (almost 1 in 5) who have uncertain feelings about it. This insecurity may infect the museological practice of display in contemporary folk museums so perpetuating confusion and misunderstanding in displays, and so disseminating distorted images of folklore to visitors rather than illuminating a dynamic and constantly evolving folkloric heritage.

6.5 Social history

When considering social history as a discipline, museum professionals appeared to be more aware both of the content and the new developments of the field than they were when commenting on the folklore discipline. Question 6 of the questionnaire (Appendix II) asked respondents to choose the topics they thought of as related to social history from a pre-determined list of options. The responses are categorised according to Kaelble's classification (see section 5.5 in chapter 5).

As the Lickert scale of Table 6.15 indicates, high percentages are observed not only for traditional social history topics such as the "formation of social classes" and the "rise of welfare state" but also for items classified under more recent areas of interest such as

"transport" and "travel", categorised under "history of communication", and "domestic things", categorised under "history of consumption/signification of objects".

Table 6.15 *The image of social history (Source: Q 6 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), categorised after Kaelble (2003), N= 109 respondents in each case*

Social history is about:	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
Formation of social classes	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
about all types and classes of people	95	87.2	11	10.1	1	0.9	2	1.8
the study of the structures of the society	79	72.5	20	18.3	8	7.3	2	1.8
mainly about the ordinary man and woman	65	59.6	16	14.7	24	22.0	4	3.7
Rise of welfare state								
work	100	91.7	6	5.5	1	0.9	2	1.8
health	95	87.2	9	8.3	2	1.8	3	2.8
History of communication								
transport	97	89.0	9	8.3	1	0.9	2	1.8
travel	94	86.2	11	10.1	2	1.8	2	1.8
History of consumption/signification of objects								
domestic things	87	79.8	13	11.9	7	6.4	2	1.8
mass production*	65	59.6	30	27.5	10	9.2	4	3.7
Interaction with political history								
the rights of ordinary people	83	76.1	19	17.4	4	3.7	3	2.8
democracy*	38	34.9	40	36.7	27	24.8	4	3.7
anything except political history	12	11.0	19	17.4	74	67.9	4	3.7
Others								
industrial times	83	76.1	19	17.4	5	4.6	2	1.8
written history of society	62	56.9	21	19.3	23	21.1	3	2.8
oral history that is not written down	56	51.4	16	14.7	33	30.3	4	3.7
a discipline for the university people to study*	50	45.9	26	23.9	29	26.6	4	3.7
history that the states do not encourage to teach*	34	31.2	34	31.2	35	32.1	6	5.5

* Items gaining a high neutral response (seen as over 20%)

Interestingly, the term "ordinary person", although of key importance in social history, is not espoused by all participants since only 59.6% of respondents agreed that social history was mainly about the ordinary man and woman. Some respondents expressed their objection to the notion of "ordinary" in the verbatim responses to question 15 of the questionnaire (Appendix II) where the term also appears:

- "what is ordinary person?"
- "who is the ordinary?"
- "it depends on your definition of ordinary"

- "there is no one ordinary person. We are all unique"

are a sample of these oppositions. It seems that these museum specialists believe that social history can concern all classes of people (87.2% of respondents) so identifying a feature in common with folklore which can also be traced in all strata of society.

Another interesting observation from the survey findings is that although a majority of 76.1% agreed that social history is relevant to industrial times only 59.6% felt that there is a connection with mass production while 27.5% expressed neutral feelings on the point. This is a remarkable finding especially if we take into account that mass produced objects are very often the core of social history museum displays and that the mass production of industrialisation served to bring class boundaries into sharp focus. However, a genuine history of mass production and consumption culture is a recent area of study which may be considered as more closely related to economic rather than social history and this time lag in taking up new ideas from a very active discipline on the part of museum professionals may offer an explanation for the above choices. Political history on the other hand, was considered to have a close relationship with social history. The areas where neutrality and uncertainty were expressed, apart from "mass production", are "democracy", "relationship with the academia" and the "incorporation of social history in school curricula".

On the whole however, museum professionals appear confident about what social history as a discipline covers, a situation which very likely supports the "transformation" of many British folk museums to social history in recent decades but also the plethora of social history displays in general museums. The fact that a large percentage of our sample comes from Britain where social history as an academic discipline was embraced in museums far more cordially than in other countries may have exerted an influence on the above results. No doubt, many respondents had studied social history in their undergratuate degrees. In fact, there are some variations in the opinions of museum specialists about social history with regards to their nationality (Table V.12, Appendix V). Of course, the size of the sample does not support sophisticated statistics which would prove statistical significance, so the hypothesis that social history in the museum context might be perceived in a different way in different countries needs further research - perhaps in a future work focusing on experts - in order to be validated or rejected. On the other hand however, the fact that nationality did not prove to have a key role in shaping visitors' attitudes towards social history, which in a

way might be said to reflect the official way a field is perceived in each country makes the above hypothesis more outlying.

When museum experts were asked to offer alternative options for the content of social history (Q 7 of the questionnaire, Appendix II) there was a great variety of replies from 37.6% of the respondents, a response rate similar to that concerning the similar question about folk life. A comparison between the suggestions offered with the ones proposed for folk life proves to be very interesting as even a superficial read reveals that many of the ideas proposed here have been also recommended for inclusion under folklore. This is a key observation as it makes clear that the distinction between social history and folklore is very fuzzy even for people who tackle collections of those subjects. The visitors' confusion observed when we investigated the relationship between folk life and social history is better understood in this light.

A representative sample of those verbatim responses about social history is given below (items which could just as easily be categorised under "folklore" are in italics):

- "popular culture; *leisure*; *entertainment*; *beliefs*; *customs*; *religion*; *heroes*; celebrities or celebrated personalities"
- "*personal life*; schooling and education; parishes and *church activity*"
- "a big range of things is included. Everything can be seen through a social history perspective"
- "relationships between people of different cultures and different social strata. *All social classes*; *everything that affects our daily lives*"
- "it includes much as things included in folk life"
- "gender roles. *Life rituals – birth, marriage, death.* Fashion"
- "*all aspects of life, religion, symbolism and practice*"
- "social history is a mixture of economical, social and cultural history"
- "t*raditions*, relationships, economics. Folk life is the way of life and social history is the big thing, the context"
- "study most of the above but on a larger scale than local history, so you get a *regional*/national/European/worldwide perspective"
- "*agriculture*, military, *communication*, *buildings*, *events*, law and order, *religion and beliefs*, sport, arts and leisure, people"
- "*leisure*; migration; mobility; standards/costs of living and the domestic/family economy; *family life*; *community life*"

- "*office things, institution things, recreation/leisure*"
- "urban, *rural*, municipal infrastructure"
- "multiculturalism; immigration; law and order"
- "schooling, *holidays*, *sayings*, *customs for certain days or times*, *superstitions*, *rites de passage*, hygiene; *family and neighbourhood*; *ages and stages of life*"
- "*toys, children, costume*"

6.5.1 The relationship between folk life and social history

The difficulty in identifying with certainty any boundaries between the folk life and social history disciplines which was revealed with the similar replies to questions regarding folklore and social history previously mentioned is confirmed by the analysis of the replies to the ninth question of the questionnaire (Appendix II) which asked curators to choose from a list of predetermined options items regarding the relationship between the two disciplines.

Table 6.16 *Relationship between folklore and social history (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Social history includes folk life	92	84.4	12	11.0	5	4.6	0	0.0
Social history and folk life complement one the other	79	72.5	16	14.7	13	11.9	1	0.9
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	22	20.2	24	22.0	61	56.0	2	1.8
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life	40	36.7	29	26.6	39	35.8	1	0.9
Folk life is more informal than social history	24	22.0	20	18.3	64	58.7	1	0.9
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	5	4.6	7	6.4	97	89.0	0	0.0
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	10	9.2	13	11.9	85	78.0	1	0.9
Objects have limited value for social historians	11	10.1	14	12.8	84	77.1	0	0.0

A first observation, as the Lickert scale of Table 6.16 indicates, is that the majority (84.4%) of museum specialists perceive social history as an area of study which encompasses a separate smaller section, that of folk life. Seventy-two point five percent think that folk life and social history complement one the other while a small percentage

(20.2%) thinks that the disciplines are indistinguishable. As was the case when examining the same question from the visitors' point of view, the above percentages cannot be interpreted easily because respondents could give multiple responses. Thus, out of the 84.4% (N= 92) of those who agreed that "social history includes folk life" 61.1% of them also thought that "social history and folk life complement one the other", while 17.8% of them also ticked the third phrase "folk life and social history are indistinguishable". Moreover, out of the 72.5% (N= 79) of the respondents who thought that the two disciplines complement one the other, 15% of them also thought that they are identical while, 13.1% of them agreed with all three statements. The fact that neutral responses were given to "folk life and social history are indistinguishable" and "social history suggests something more academic than folk life" supports the hypothesis that the two disciplines are not so clear for museum professionals. In fact, there is a mirroring of percentages reported for visitors and experts in reply to this question and although experts would normally be expected to be more aware of differences and similarities between the two disciplines, this does not appear to be the case.

More surprising, though, are the mixed responses regarding the academic status of the two subjects (Table 6.16). Thus, although the respondents almost entirely disagreed (89%) with the statement "folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does", only 35.8% disagreed with the suggestion "social history suggests something more academic than folk life" (while 36.7% agreed and 26.6% were neutral). Additionally, as many as 58.7% of the respondents opposed the statement "folk life is more informal than social history", so implying that folk life has an amateur quality. This percentage was expected to be far larger for trained people who have responsibilities in folk life and social history museums. These findings portray a misunderstood image of folklore as something amateur and second-rate and they are more than disheartening because they also reveal a lack of academic knowledge and expertise of folklore amongst many museum workers who will subsequently shape public knowledge through museum displays. Never was the need for continuing professional development for curators more obvious. If folklore is misconceived and underestimated by people who primarily deal with it, then a distorted conveyance and dissemination of its cultural role and content to visitors comes to no surprise. Perhaps it was this distorted image of folklore in the experts' mind and the elevated status of social history degrees, rather than the poor connotations the term "folklore" might have had in the public mind, which led to the diversion of British folk life museums to social history

ones through the 1980s. The same influences may be behind the current denial or incredulity at mention of the term in several other European countries. This denunciation of the terms "folklore" and "folk life" was articulated in the present research where some museum experts, when asked to give their own definition of folklore did not fail to utter their criticism:

- "I don't use the term. I think the term is inappropriate" (Blaise Castle House Museum)
- "In Germany we don't talk about folk life due to the negative associations of the term. We use instead the term everyday life" (Museum of European Cultures)
- "In Germany we don't use the term folklore because it is considered naïf and old-fashioned but instead we use the terms everyday life, social anthropology, ethnography, culture" (German Historical Museum)
- "In France we use the term musées de societé" (Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires)
- "There is no reason why the term can not apply to city/urban life but somehow it seems less appropriate" (British curator, postal survey)
- "The term folk was very useful in the past because it paid attention to peoples' lives and achievements that shouldn't be ignored but it's not a good idea to separate people from a society (i.e. folks). This is an obstacle to understanding. Folk life should be part of social and academic history. It should be the study of popular culture. It should see as many aspects of life as possible so that it deepens people's understanding of their own experience" (Ulster Folk and Transport Museum)

Overall we could say that according to European museum professionals social history is considered as a more credible discipline than folklore, or to use one respondent's words when attempting to define folk life:

> "folk life is less clearly defined as a discipline in terms of methodology. There is a perception of it as an old-fashioned approach to the past. Folk life is about the past itself while social history is a more contemporary approach to the past".

6.5.2 *The improvement of folk life and social history displays*

Table 6.17 illustrates museum professionals views about which interpretive means would improve folk life and social history displays. As can be seen, all items have been selected by more than 50% of the respondents while most of them have been chosen by more than 90% of them. The most favoured media were audiovisual installations (95.4%) and oral history projects (92.7%) and the most favoured means of interpretation were more explanation about the life of the former owners of objects (90.8%) and more context for the objects themselves (90.8%). The least preferred interpretive means were information and communication technology (64.2%) and museum theatre or drama (62.4%). Old-fashioned slide shows were also not greatly favoured (71.6%).

Table 6.17 *Interpretative means that would improve folk life and social history displays according to museum specialists (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sound and moving images of things being used would improve folk life and social history displays	104	95.4	5	4.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Taped stories would improve folk life and social history displays	101	92.7	7	6.4	1	0.9	0	0.0
Other audio material would improve folk life and social history displays	99	90.8	9	8.3	1	0.9	0	0.0
More explanation about the life of the people who owned the objects would improve folk life and social history displays	99	90.8	8	7.3	2	1.8	0	0.0
More context to the objects on display would improve folk life and social history displays	99	90.8	8	7.3	2	1.8	0	0.0
Slide shows would improve folk life and social history displays	78	71.6	26	23.9	4	3.7	1	0.9
Computer interaction and exhibits would improve folk life and social history displays	70	64.2	31	28.4	7	6.4	1	0.9
Drama of people in everyday activities would improve folk life and social history displays	68	62.4	28	25.7	12	11.0	1	0.9

This outcome is very interesting as the least preferred techniques are also amongst the most modern museological interpretative media which can be powerful forms of communication. In the case of information technology the costs of systems, equipment and maintenance may have prevented many respondents from choosing it as such projects are not commonly affordable on folk life and social history museum budgets.

With regard to drama, criticism of live interpretation expressed as variability of performance, inaccuracy of information presented, and demotion of the superiority of objects (Lewis 2004) may have influenced those museum professionals who did not opt for that choice.

However, if we recall the interpretative approaches of the museums subjected to Critical Reviews for this study we realise that not only the least favoured media but even the most preferred ones, such as audio-visual installations and oral history posts, were rarely employed. The use of rather traditional interpretative approaches, such as room sets and textual information, revealed instead a rather conventional mentality on the part of the decision–makers along with an apparent fear of engagement with different media of communication and interpretation. Perhaps the publication of studies and research such as that of the use of theatrical techniques in museums by the drama department of the University of Manchester (Jackson 2005) would highlight the potential of modern techniques to enhance visitors' learning and enjoyment and so could reverse traditional curatorial ways of thinking and open up folk life museums to more innovative communicative practices.

6.5.3 Summary of section 6.5: social history; the relationship between folk life and social history; the improvement of folk life and social history displays

The main findings from the museum professionals' survey regarding their opinions around the topic of social history can be summarised as follows:

- Museum experts are more confident about commenting on social history rather than folk life. They seem more aware both of the content of social history as an academic subject as well as of new developments in the field in contrast to the folklore discipline of which they are less aware. However, in the case of social history, there were some areas of ambiguity which could not be confidently identified by them as social history.

- Social history is considered a broad area that encompasses folk life.

- Social history and folklore are considered as two complementary disciplines with fuzzy boundaries.

- Social history is considered more credible as a discipline in contrast to folk life which is considered more informal and amateur.

- Social history is thought to concern all types and classes of people and is not restricted to the way of life of the ordinary man and woman.

- Social history is more closely related to issues of the social democratic welfare state.

- It is also closely related to issues of public transport and travel. Not surprisingly the last two points are the areas which are mostly represented in museums.

- Social history is relevant to industrial times.

- Politics are not beyond social history's concerns.

- The suggested interpretative means of audio visual and oral history displays were embraced. The use of modern technology and live interpretation was not so well favoured.

- The context of interpretation should include more explanation of the life of the users of objects and more context about the objects themselves.

6.6 Conceptions of the past

To conclude the specialists' survey, museum experts were asked to comment on their views towards the past (Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). The findings, summarized in Table 6.18, were rather as expected from people working in the heritage sector. The majority (see first three statements of Table 6.18) expressed a keen interest in knowing about the past which was valued as worth knowing about (98.2%), as well as important for shaping the present (96.5%) and the future (89.9%) alike. Moreover, 82.6% considered the past important to everyone while just 1% found studying the past boring.

A high percentage (87.2%) of the respondents felt that their interest about the past emerged out of curiosity. Only 34.9% admitted that they held a nostalgic and romantic attitude towards the past despite the plethora of folk life and social history museum displays which are testimonies to the very strong influence of this attitude on their work. In fact, the element of "nostalgia and romanticism" accumulated a large percentage of neutral, unsure, responses (30.3%) as did most of the statements which describe the way of life in the past (see starred items in Table 6.18). For some of these statements the neutral, unsure, percentages were even larger than the percentages reported for positive or negative responses ("life was very difficult in the past", "people worked harder in the past", "there was no unemployment in the past", Table 6.18). This is an interesting observation because it may provide an explanation for the embellished image of the past depicted in a number of contemporary European museums. If museum curators do not have a firm realistic image of life in the past and are often ignorant on such matters they may allow distorted representations of life in the past through museum displays, which, subsequently may be carriers of misconceptions to visitors. And this may occur even if, in reality, these museum professionals do not support the idea of the past being better than the present!

Table 6.18 *Conceptions of the past (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

Statement	Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It is worth knowing about the past	107	98.2	2	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Memory of the past informs the present	105	96.3	4	3.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
The knowledge of the past is necessary for the future	98	89.9	9	8.3	2	1.8	0	0.0
You are curious about life in the past	95	87.2	7	6.4	2	1.8	5	4.6
The past is important to everyone	90	82.6	8	7.3	11	10.1	0	0.0
Life was very difficult in the past*	48	44.0	49	45.0	12	11.0	0	0.0
People worked harder in the past*	39	35.8	52	47.7	18	16.5	0	0.0
You are nostalgic and romantic about the past *	38	34.9	33	30.3	33	30.3	5	4.6
There were better values in the past*	16	14.7	39	35.8	54	49.5	0	0.0
There was no unemployment in the past*	14	12.8	95	87.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Life was more peaceful in the past*	9	8.3	23	21.1	77	70.6	0	0.0
Life was better in the past*	4	3.7	31	28.4	74	67.9	0	0.0
Studying the past is boring	1	0.9	9	8.3	98	89.9	1	0.9

* Items gaining a high neutral response (over 20%)

Museum specialists were also asked to respond to question 15 of the questionnaire "what do you think life in the recent past was like for the ordinary person". Replies were similar to the choices in the predetermined list of items of question 11 (Table 6.18). However, 30 out of 109 respondents did not respond to this open-ended question but they commented on it as the following examples illustrate:

- "I can not say for such a big period"
- "you could go on endlessly trying to answer this"
- "it's a difficult question because the past has many shapes depending on who you are"
- "life for the ordinary person would depend on where you lived and what background you had"
- "it depends on your definition of the ordinary"
- "I cannot answer the first part of the question as it depends on where and when that person was living. It is impossible"
- "I'm not sure I can answer that – who is the ordinary person? Also life encompasses too much"
- "impossible – what aspect of life!"
- "it is too difficult to say what life was like for the ordinary person. It's too great a generalisation"

The above reflections about various aspects of everyday life in the past depending on a range of circumstances, uttered by almost a quarter of the sample, is a reminder of how careful museums of cultural history need to be when articulating the past with the present. The inclusiveness of this approach in museum representations of the past instead of historical generalizations of it, which is a familiar museological practice in several small museums of today, will enhance the understanding of history and also will show how social change by increasing the cultural representation of more people affects all members of a society.

To go back to the actual replies of the final open-ended question of the questionnaire, as the following randomly selected sample indicates, both good and bad aspects of life in the past were noted:

- "life was very difficult but there were some better values"
- "life has improved materially but lost touch with the community"

- "a steady improvement in living conditions and protection of human rights but a steady decrease in traditional values"
- "very poor, shocking poverty and less notion of the rights they had but at the same time a lot of creativity and celebration"
- "hard work and struggle for everyday life"
- "life is marked by the loss of tradition, close relationships and community, homogenisation and individualisation"
- "standard of living was lower, change came less quickly"
- "different from today, different values, expectations, more in tune with nature and the seasons"
- "more boring yet less stressful, more regimental and less varied"
- "life was varied, changing, uncertain, and technological. Life had the potential for ever-widening horizons in people's view of the world and abilities to travel"
- "a time of great change driven by technology and improved communication"

Table 6.19 *Images of life in the past – broad categories derived from unprompted responses (Source: Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses in each case*

What do you think life in the past was like for the ordinary person	**N**	**%**
Worse in social terms (health, work conditions)	19	17.1
Hard	17	15.5
Time of change and evolution	15	13.5
Better quality of life	13	11.7
Better values	10	9.0
Different	10	9.0
Almost the same as today	6	5.4
Other	21	18.8
Total	111	100.0

Multiple responses were possible

The disadvantages of living in the past were identified in financial terms, work and living conditions and health matters, while the positive sides were thought to be better values, closer relationships and a quieter, less stressful life in tune with the seasons (see also Table 6.19). Also several respondents identified the recent past as a period of change and developments in many aspects of life.

Interestingly, although museum displays regarding folklore and social history are usually limited to the representation of everyday life of the 19th and early 20th century the majority of responses regarding the perception of the "recent past" concentrated on the 20th century (80.1% overall) and in particular the second half of it (Table 6.20). This circumstance is very significant because it reveals that these museum specialists, although in theory they may relate folklore to today, when it comes to its representation they follow the conservative approach of presenting it as an element of a more remote past. This attitude may be attributed, firstly, to well rooted, hidden misconceptions about folklore, secondly, to remnants of a traditional viewing of it as something old and quaint, thirdly, to a lack of historical training but, lastly, it may be seen as the obvious result of the lack of recent folklore elements in contemporary museum collections as a result of quaint collection policies which have not been renewed for years.

Table 6.20 *Responses to the question "What do you think is the recent past?" (Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), (N= 161 responses)*

What do you think is the recent past	N	%
1950-2000	81	50.3
1900-1950	48	29.8
1850-1900	16	9.9
1800-1850	9	5.6
Don't know/no reply	4	2.5
Pre 18th century	3	1.9
Total	161	100.0

Multiple responses were possible

Table 6.21 *Ways of finding out about daily life in the recent past (Source: Q 12 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 109 respondents, missing= 3*

Statement	N	%
Visiting a museum	36	33.0
Asking elder people about the past	35	32.1
Reading a book about it	22	20.2
Watching a television programme about it	11	10.1
Listening to an expert talking about it	2	1.8
Asking in your local library	0	0.0
Missing	3	2.8
Total	109	100.0

Finally, regarding museum specialists' most enjoyable way of finding out about daily life in the recent past "visiting a museum" came, of course, first in their preferences with "asking elder people about the past" being the second most favoured way and "reading a book about the past" the third (Table 6.21).

6.6.1 Summary of section 6.6: conceptions of the past

The following points were made clear by examining museum professionals' perceptions of the past:

- The past is valued by the vast majority of the respondents as worth knowing about and important for shaping the present and the future.
- Nostalgia and romanticism may colour museum professionals' views about the past.
- Ignorance and uncertainty about what life in the past was like was indicated by a sizable fraction of the sample. This could influence distorted representations of the past in displays.
- A few respondents pointed out that their personal past was not generalizable and that it is influenced by several factors. This observation may be the antidote to the comment about nostalgia and romanticism and so lead to more impartial and culturally diverse displays.
- The twentieth century and in particular the second half of it was considered as the recent past for museum workers.
- Museum visits and talking to older people are museum professionals' most favoured way of finding out about the recent past.

6.7 Conclusion to chapter 6

This chapter presented the results of the analyses of museum professionals' opinions about folklore, social history and the past. We have looked at the same issues

considered when examining museum visitors' views on the above matters and can observe the following principal points with regard to folk life museum curators:

A. Folklore:

- museum professionals preserve an old-fashioned impression about folklore as being rural and pre-industrial;
- rural life of the past and present alike is a key element of folklore;
- regional folklore was thought of as important though local identity was considered to be stronger in the past;
- folklore as a discipline is associated with the past and in particular with a more distant past;
- a tendency for modern cultural aspects to be identified as folkloric was observed so the concept of "present folklore" may start to emerge;
- industrialisation is seen as the cutting off point for defining a cultural element of the past as folkloric;
- tangible and intangible heritage are accepted as key features of folklore;
- material culture was mainly related to the past by curators whereas intangible heritage was related to both past and present;
- there is a general positive attitude towards folklore though there are museum professionals who are unsure about what folklore encapsulates and therefore have ambiguous feelings about it.

B. Social History:

- museum experts are confident about the content of social history as an academic subject;
- social history concerns all types and classes of people;

- social history is closely related to issues of the welfare democratic state, transport and travel;
- social history concerns industrial times;
- social history is not separated from politics;
- social history is thought of as a broad area which encompasses folklore;
- social history and folklore are considered as complementary disciplines with unclear borders;
- social history is considered more credible as an academic discipline in contrast to folk life which is considered more informal and amateur;
- with the exception of modern technology and live interpretation all suggested interpretative means were highly valued;
- more explanation of the life of the owners and users of objects and more context about the objects themselves was also considered imperative.

C. The Past:

- the past is worth knowing about and it is important for both the present and the future;
- museum specialists do not have an historically supported realistic image of the past and report a neutral stance which may be covering ignorance regarding various aspects of past life;
- nostalgia and romanticism may influence the representation of the past as such feelings were far from being unanimously rejected by museum professionals;
- the realisation of a lived and personally meaningful past may compensate for nostalgic images of the past and may contribute to unbiased and culturally diverse displays;
- the recent past is seen as the twentieth century and in particular the second half of it;

and lastly

- the most favoured way of finding out about the recent past was visiting museums and talking to older people.

The next chapter of the thesis will concentrate on a comparative discussion of the essence of the findings arising from all empirical research undertaken for this project (Museum Critical Reviews, analysis of museum visitor views and museum specialist views about folklore and social history) in relation to theoretical arguments about the notion of folklore in order to identify communication gaps and therefore provide thoughts about and recommendations for the folk museum of the 21st century.

7 Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is structured in five parts. First it presents a summarised presentation of the findings through a comparison of the Visitor and Specialist surveys with references to the Museum Critical Reviews. Then it discusses how the research questions of the study have been adequately addressed. Next it offers some recommendations for the "folk life" museum of the 21st century and finally it presents the contribution of the thesis and opens up some new avenues for future work.

7.2 Comparison of visitor and curator surveys with references to Museum Critical Reviews

7.2.1 Folk life museum/exhibition visiting

The most striking finding from the parallel examination of museum visitors' and museum curators' folk life museum/exhibition visiting is the approximately similar percentages recorded for non-visiting (Table 7.1). It would be reasonable to expect this percentage to be very low for active members of folk life or social history museums however, lack of curatorial interest in updating awareness of other institutions' initiatives combined with a, perhaps, low regard for folk life displays or folklore as a discipline, have contributed to this situation.

The close relationship between history and folklore has been overtly reported by both sides. However, open-air museums which illustrate this close relationship, as they

celebrate the common man and are full of folk life and living history materials, were recognised as adjacent institutions to folk life museums only by museum specialists (Table 7.1 below).

Perhaps, the image of the traditional folk life museum which preserves and exhibits collections, as the folklore discipline did in its early stages, rather than the image of an institution that aims to review history in a more holistic way – a primary goal of the open-air organisations (Marshall 1987, 36) – is seen by museum visitors as more close to folklore ideals. This is a further indication of the conventional notion that museum visitors have about folklore.

Overall, going by visitation patterns it could be said that museum curators are more aware of the museums that provide a stage for folklore even if a large percentage amongst them fails to be constantly sentient of the latest developments in them.

Table 7.1 *Folk life museum/exhibition visiting (Source: Q 1 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Please name any folk life exhibition you have visited recently	Visitors %	Curators %
None	39.9	33.0
Mentioned a Folklore museum/exhibition	28.7	22.0
Mentioned a History/city/community/ ethnography museum/exhibition	16.5	8.3
Mentioned both a folklore and historical or other museum/exhibition	4.7	17.4
Mentioned an Archaeology/Art museum/exhibition	2.8	4.6
Mentioned an Open - Air museum	0.5	11.0
Mentioned a Heritage Site	0.9	0.0
Mentioned any other museum	6.0	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0

7.2.2 The image of folklore

Rural life

Both museum visitors and museum curators have acclaimed with their selections the strong relationship between folklore and rural life. This situation has been also verified by the Museum Critical Reviews which revealed that rural culture is the focal point of the reviewed museums' activities.

However, the tendency to strongly link folk with rural culture is more intense among curators than among visitors, who, on the one hand, do not primarily point out rural life when referring to folklore and, on the other, report lower percentages, compared to curators, when selecting the rural related statements of the questionnaire (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 *Association of folk life with rural culture (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Folk life is about rural culture of today	28.5	58.7
Folk life is about rural culture of the past	69.5	88.1
Folk life is about country furniture	71.1	79.8
Folk life is about agricultural tools	71.5	83.5
Folk life is about traditions and customs of a village community	77.0	89.9

This observation does not of course insinuate that museum visitors are more aware of the current folkloristic theoretical implications which embrace both rural and urban environments in their enquiries, but more likely has to do with the multidisciplinarity of folklore as a discipline as well as with the way these visitors experience folklore in their everyday urban lives where rurality may not be a primary feature. Perhaps the public is more ready to accept modern folk life exhibitions than museums are to provide them.

On the other hand, museum peoples' choices are mostly driven by their professional experience and circumstances. Subsequently, a possible interpretation for their persistence in emphasising "rurality" comes from the nature of folk life collections themselves, which in an attempt to embody national or regional characters as they existed at the moment of their formation, mainly consisted of material culture of rural origin. This ideology continued in subsequent years. For example the post II World War rationale of the French Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires as a preserver of a vanishing rural past drew on colonial ethnography (Sherman 2004, 691). More specifically, on the technique of temporal distancing (things from the past, (Fabian 1983) on the one hand and on the idea of the ethnographer as saviour of a dying culture (Jamin 1984) on the other. This rationale may easily apply to the many European museums of the time that similarly rationalised their missions in favour of a more resonant discourse of loss and preservation and have not moved on since. In addition, the lack of trained folklorists in contemporary museums leads to an ongoing misunderstanding and dichotomy between the notions of "rural" and "urban". Finally,

this misunderstanding obviously imbues the general public's ideas about folklore, who, given the opportunity, acclaim the importance of rural life in folk culture. This misrepresentation and misinterpretation of folklore in contemporary museum displays should be altered to adequately follow urbanised along with rural trends in order to cater for all parts of our diverse societies.

The idea of rurality has been linked to various extent by visitors and curators to tangible and intangible forms of culture. On the part of visitors the associations reported are stronger with material culture elements rather than items of intangible heritage, even in cases where the latter are unarguably products of peasant environments. This has been attributed in this study to the influence exerted by folk museums which tend to prioritise tangible over intangible heritage in their interpretation and presentation of folklore. Museum curators on the other hand counterbalance tangible and intangible and strongly relate both to rural life. In spite of this approach however, folk life museums over emphasise material culture in their exhibition projects and other communicative activities.

Another interesting difference between visitors, and curators, approaches towards folk and rural culture has been traced in the relationship between rural culture and body accessories such as clothing and jewellery. Hence, while museum visitor selections did not support a strong association between rural life and costumes, the opposite was revealed on the part of museum curators who, confirming actual museological practices, which traditionally present rural best clothing, strongly affirmed the relationship between costumes and rural culture. This is a significant outcome which should cause museum decision makers to reflect.

Lastly, the most important variation between visitors and curators when examining the relation of folklore with rural culture is the emphasis that museum visitors put on the past in contrast to museum specialists who attribute a similar importance to both past and present. Traditional notions of folklore as old material culture may be blamed for this stereotyped opinions in the public mind. Conversely, curators' more progressive views do not seem to be taken into serious consideration in practice as folk life museum displays remain stuck in the presentation of the old and quaint instead of expanding to the representation of modern folklore. May be the curators think that rural life of the present represents a "relic culture" of the past.

Local identity

The importance of locality in relation to folklore is valued by both groups. It is acknowledged by visitors and curators alike to have been stronger in the past than in the present while their main opinion differences focus on the fact that museum visitors consider the notion of locality as more important than the notion of rurality whereas museum specialists attribute equal significance to both characteristics. Interestingly, this was the bifurcated aim of ethnographic research in its early stages: to seek the "rustic and the ordinary, but also what could be considered peculiar to a particular area" (Segalen 2001, 78). This outcome has some implications on the way folklore is treated in those contemporary museums which over emphasise the rural character. It also should affect the way folklore is portrayed in museums of European cultures which have to bridge regional particularities under the big umbrella of European identity.

Past life

A straightforward relationship between folklore and the past has been avowed by both museums visitors and museum curators. As Table 7.3 shows with the exception of the statements "folk life is about rural culture of the past" and "folk life is about pre-industrial times", which were more highly valued by museum curators, the rest of these statements aggregated similar percentages by both groups and were even ranked in the same order (Table 7.3)

Table 7.3 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the past (Source: Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Folk life is about old traditions	89.5	94.4
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the past	89.3	91.7
Folk life is about rural culture of the past	69.5	88.9
Folk life is about pre-industrial times	43.4	67.9
Mentioned the word "past" in folklore definition	33.2	39.0
Folk life is about a past studied by academics	20.3	28.7

As already discussed, chi-squared tests revealed that museum visitors in particular, tend to relate folklore to a more remote and rural past rather than to the more recent past of urbanised twentieth century. Moreover, only one third of visitors attribute a present

contemporary character to folklore. This inclination towards the past on the part of museum visitors can be explained on the one hand by the popular notions of folklore and on the other by conventional museum representations that tend to remain fixed in the presentation of the past rather than a more balanced representation of the past and the present.

The argument of museum representation of folklore exerting an influence on the way it is perceived by visitors is further supported by the fact that museum visitors tend to associate folk material culture more to the past, whilst intangible heritage seems to have validity both for the past and the present. Indeed, as the Museum Critical Reviews revealed folk life museums have a propensity in their exhibitions to put forward folklore ideas mainly in the form of artefacts created in an era long past rather than intangible cultural forms which may be also experienced in contemporary life.

Table 7.4 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to the present (Source: Qs 3 and 13 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Folk life is about everyday life of ordinary people in the present	41.9	57.4
Folk life is about city street culture	33.9	42.6
Folk life is about movies	31.4	34.3
Folk life is about rural culture of the present*	28.5	59.3
Folk life is about popular culture of today	27.6	40.7
Mentioned: present	8.9	15.0

Museum curators, on the other hand, although they also delineate folklore - and in particular folk material culture - as closely allied to the distant past and to the era before the pervasive influences of industrialisation, seem to move towards embracing the idea of its relevance to contemporary societies.

The ideas of "popular culture" and "city street culture" as parts of modern folkloric expressive forms are approved by more than one third of museum specialists and, in general, all the present folklore-related statements aggregate larger percentages than those reported by the visitor group (Table 7.4 above). Certainly, in some cases, ideas about modern folklore on the part of museum professionals may translate to the exploration of the present-day functioning of a local/rural society which remains unsullied in its technical and cultural aspects by influences of the wider world. This interest in traditional rural living cultures, which comes first in curators' preferences

(starred item in Table 7.4), rather than an explicit concern with contemporary urban environments, together with their general awkwardness in overtly identifying modern folkloric forms and genres implies that a conventional attitude towards folklore is still dominant in curators' minds. The fact that the issue of contemporaneousness was never addressed directly in folk life museums, although after the Second World War ethnologists and social anthropologists chose urban modern cultures as the focus of their fieldwork, further contributes to the above approach. However, the fact that the idea of "present folklore" has been espoused by a fairly large percentage of museum people leaves room for optimistic thoughts about a gradual change in curatorial trains of thought and is an hopeful herald for innovation in museum interpretation of folklore and, consequently, for an accurate adjustment of its warped image in the public mind.

Material culture versus intangible heritage

As anthropology has been acclaimed to be dependent on collections of artefacts (Dias 1997) so the adjoining folklore studies has roots in museum displays of local artefacts (Sherman 2004, 673). In fact, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has pointed out "disciplines make their objects and in the process make themselves" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, 387). This affirmed sovereign status of objects not only still predominates in today's folk life museums which use material evidence to refer to even intangible aspects of culture, but is overtly accepted by both museum visitors and curators. The two groups unanimously highlight the centrality of material culture in the field of folklore as the only real and manifest testimonies of the past (Table 7.5) and material culture item cross-tabulations proved to be highly significant. Costumes and objects in general, constitute both groups' top preferences and were the primary items that came into their minds in relation to folk life displays. In both groups a link between the age factor and the selection of specific material aspects of folklore was observed, which was attributed to the fact that older people are perhaps more familiar with the listed objects. The superiority of material culture was ascribed to a variety of reasons ranging from the intimate liaison between tangible heritage and folk life, to the museums' long-established role as safeguards of past material life (which has subsequently affected the way visitors experience the past), along with the significant function of the concept of materiality itself and the effect it has on individuals.

Table 7.5 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to material culture (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Folk life is about clothing	91.3	90.7
Folk life is about cooking utensils	77.9	83.3
Folk life is about embroidery	74.0	74.1
Folk life is about agricultural tools	71.5	84.3
Folk life is about country furniture	71.1	80.6
Folk life is about photographs	67.2	73.1
Folk life is about lace	63.0	70.4

Although in museum settings, in particular, the durability and solidity of objects seems to be unquestionable, intangible heritage was also appreciated as closely related to folklore by visitors and curators alike. Curators, in particular, appeared to be keener about appreciating intangible heritage as they reported slightly higher percentages than visitors in their intangible heritage related replies (Table 7.6). At the same time their top individual selections proved to be conventional and typical of the museum majority's rather old-fashioned and conservative perceptions about folklore. "Old traditions" which imply nonetheless, something old and quaint, and "music and songs" which is one of the commonest folkloric forms were the first and third preferred items for both groups. Second in curators' preferences came "traditions and customs of a village community", a selection which is consistent with the eminent position that they have accredited to rural culture. Visitors, on the other hand, selected "manners and habits of a nation" as their second most favoured item in referring to intangible culture. This selection confirms the previously mentioned greater importance that visitors attribute to the notion of locality as contrasted to rurality, while it is also consistent with the observation that individuals of different geographical loci may experience folklore in differing ways as well as the notion of folklore as "tradition" which is orally transmitted throughout generations. Perhaps this is an indication that the idea of ethnicity which has become lost in museum exhibition reorganisations (Marshall 1987, 35) should be reinserted in museum presentations of regional and community character.

The fact that traditional folklore items such as "dialects", "markets", and any kind of celebrations (Table 7.6) report larger percentages in the curator group is an indication that museum specialists are more aware of the expressive forms and genres that folklore encompasses than museum visitors who are more hesitant in identifying as folklore less

common features or, alternatively, features that are still abundant in their contemporary lives. This explanation is in accordance with their deep-rooted perception of folklore as something that is more related to the past than to the present.

Table 7.6 *Attitudes to folklore in relation to intangible heritage (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Folk life is about old traditions	89.5	94.4
Folk life is about manners and habits of a nation	84.4	59.3
Folk life is about music and songs	81.1	88.0
Folk life is about traditions and customs of a village community	77.0	90.7
Folk life is about religion	73.9	68.5
Folk life is about legends and fairy tales	73.7	73.1
Folk life is about festive celebrations	69.1	80.6
Folk life is about special dishes	64.4	68.5
Folk life is about dialects	53.5	76.9
Folk life is about wedding receptions	52.8	58.7
Folk life is about markets	43.2	56.5
Folk life is about birthday celebrations	35.4	51.4
Folk life is about city street culture	33.9	42.6
Folk life is about movies	31.4	34.3

Most important however, is that both groups profoundly perceive tangible and intangible heritage as two dynamically linked sides of the same coin. This was made primarily clear by statistically significant cross-tabulations between tangible and intangible cultural features as well as by references to expressions that encompass an entire system of tangible and intangible aspects of life, such as "everyday life" and "way of life" when both groups commented on the content of folklore.

This healthy approach to folkloric heritage may contribute to a more balanced presentation of tangible and intangible cultural phenomena in contemporary museums where at present material culture prevails. In fact, in many cases objects are relied upon to speak for themselves and so are superficially linked to the themes of exhibitions through the implied suggestion of how they were used instead of elucidating their cultural symbolism which would deepen the meaning of the display (Hernandez 1994, 68). Objects also fail to vigorously intersect with relevant intangible aspects which

usually remain at the margin of museum interpretation clues instead of being dynamically utilised to further illuminate exhibition themes and to help visitors conceive of culture within a constantly changing and dynamic perspective.

Table 7.7 *Items ranked as more closely related to folklore (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Folk life is about	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
everyday life of ordinary people in the past	89.3	91.7
cultural identity	73.3	75.0
local identity	63.5	85.2
everyday life of ordinary people in the present	41.9	57.4
popular culture of today	27.6	40.7
nationalism	25.4	27.8
a past studied by academics	20.3	28.7
something that belongs to museums	16.7	24.1

Lastly, as far as the relation of folklore with the abstract ideas mentioned in Table 7.7 above is concerned, the most significant difference observed between visitors and curators is the already mentioned greater interest in the present on the part of museum specialists, which is expressed with higher percentages reported for both "everyday life of ordinary people in the present" and "popular culture of today". Cultural and local identity were valued by both groups but neither visitors nor curators, (each group for its own reasons, see sections 5.4.6 and 6.4.6 in chapters 5 and 6 respectively), appreciated folklore as something which is linked to the academia or to museums. On top of that, cross-tabulations regarding the visitor group revealed associations between museums and academia suggesting that even folk life museums which deal with ordinary everyday life are actually considered by visitors as academic institutions rather than relaxing models of informal learning and entertainment.

Attitudes towards folk life

Overall, visitors, and specialists, attitudes towards folk life are parallel. Both groups attribute affirmative characteristics to folklore with visitors being slightly more positively disposed and curators slightly more critical (Table 7.8). The relatively large percentages of neutral responses in both cases indicate that museum visitors as well as

museum curators are far from having a definite and clear understanding about all aspects of folklore but are, rather, possessed by hazy feelings.

Table 7.8 *Museum visitor and museum curator attitudes towards folklore (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors (V) and 109 curators (C) respectively in each case*

Folk life is:	Agree%		Neutral%		Disagree%	
	V	C	V	C	V	C
marginal to modern times	13.1	20.2	26.1	19.3	57.7	58.7
old-fashioned	14.2	23.9	16.9	17.4	65.9	56.0
picturesque	41.4	25.7	22.3	32.1	33.4	41.3
still alive	71.0	76.1	20.1	17.4	6.9	5.5
dynamic	51.5	47.7	30.9	32.1	14.5	18.3
evolves over time	71.0	82.6	18.3	10.1	7.1	5.4

The already offered explanation for the ambiguity observed in the curators' group, which focused on the lack of perceived folklore academic integrity within the museum profession and the apparent lack of employed folklorists in museums is also confirmed by the very slight variations between visitors and curators in the reported percentages. The fact that museum professionals seem to be more negative than museum visitors definitely has to do with the professional opportunities offered to them when working with folklore collections in contemporary museums which, as has already been mentioned, are neither generously funded nor are thought to lead to a high career development.

Approximately similar outcomes were reported for museum visitors. Their confusion about folklore was revealed when folklore was examined in relation to the present and the puzzlement was expressed through a hesitation in attributing dynamic modern features to folklore. The age factor proved to be a significant one in shaping the attitudes an individual has towards folklore and as expected, the older the person the more positive s/he was inclined towards the discipline. Younger generations appear to be more indifferent about folklore and more reluctant about detecting in it vibrant and dynamic cultural elements. Again, this is due to the misshapen image of folklore as something conformist and conservative which is, subsequently, seen as far away from the younger generations' pursuits and interests. The perception, by both groups, of tradition as something from the past that is handed down to future generations instead as something which is constantly developing and adjusting to different times and to

various environments, does not help to alter this situation. Moreover, museum curators have neither the key knowledge nor the academic skills to create displays that would challenge and amend the above misunderstandings.

Nationalistic differences became apparent in this part of the survey, suggesting that the feelings nursed by each individual about folklore are influenced by whether, and how, folklore has been manipulated within each country throughout the years. People from countries where folklore has been used in the past to establish a notion of national identity and national self are more positive, in contrast to people from states that have manipulated folklore for political propaganda and who consider, therefore, both the term and the scholarly field problematic.

Once more, it is the depressing gap between academic folklore and folklore in practice that emerges and threatens to be the major impediment in the way folklore is perceived by people and how it is interpreted in contemporary museums.

7.2.3 Social history

Regarding the way social history is perceived the most significant outcome from the surveys is that the term certainly raises ambiguity in the mind of museum visitors who are not at all confident but, rather, confused about the content of the field. On the contrary, museum curators appeared to be more aware both of the content and the recent developments in the discipline and to be more cognisant about social history than about folklore. This was partially attributed to the fact that a large percentage of the sample were British nationals who might not have been trained as folklorists but in many cases have a social history academic background and belonged to the Social History Curators Group and so had a strong concept of the field.

Curators' deeper awareness of social history issues was made clear with their high preference for subjects recently introduced into the discipline such as "transport", "travel", and "domestic things" while museum visitors mostly concentrated on the more traditional matters such as the formation of social classes and the rise of welfare state. Reasonably enough the new areas of study mentioned above, together with the subjects of "health" and "mass production" are the subjects where the larger differences between visitors and curators were observed (Table 7.9 below) and these differences call for

some action on the part of museums in order to clarify the above matters for their audiences.

Table 7.9 *The image of social history (Source: Q 6 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors (V) and 109 curators (C) respectively in each case*

Social history is about:	Agree%		Neutral%		Disagree%		Missing%	
Formation of social classes	**V**	**C**	**V**	**C**	**V**	**C**	**V**	**C**
the study of the structures of the society	85.8	72.5	9.8	18.3	2.7	7.3	1.6	1.8
about all types and classes of people	85.7	87.2	10.7	10.1	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.8
mainly about the ordinary man and woman	54.1	59.6	24.3	14.7	17.4	22.0	4.2	3.7
Rise of welfare state								
work	81.1	91.7	12.3	5.5	3.4	0.9	3.1	1.8
health	61.5	87.2	23.0	8.3	8.7	1.8	6.7	2.8
History of communication								
transport	61.9	89.0	23.4	8.3	10.2	0.9	4.5	1.8
travel	59.5	86.2	24.9	10.1	11.4	1.8	4.2	1.8
History of consumption/signification of objects								
domestic things	58.1	79.8	23.6	11.9	14.0	6.4	4.4	1.8
mass production	41.9	59.6	35.9	27.5	17.4	9.2	4.7	3.7
Interaction with political history								
the rights of ordinary people	77.0	76.1	16.3	17.4	4.7	3.7	2.0	2.8
democracy	55.0	34.9	30.1	36.7	9.8	24.8	5.1	3.7
anything except political history	13.1	11.0	27.0	17.4	55.5	67.9	4.4	3.7
Others								
written history of society	57.9	56.9	27.4	19.3	11.1	21.1	3.6	2.8
industrial times	55.5	76.1	30.1	17.4	10.9	4.6	3.4	1.8
oral history that is not written down	49.5	51.4	25.0	14.7	21.1	30.3	4.4	3.7
history that the states do not encourage to teach	43.0	31.2	32.7	31.2	20.7	32.1	3.6	3.7
a discipline for the university people to study	33.9	45.9	35.8	23.9	25.2	26.6	5.1	3.7

Another interesting point that was highlighted in the specialist survey and was revealed by the case of "mass production" was the fact that there is a time lapse before modern ideas become assimilated by museum curators and, consequently, consciously integrated in museum practice. This important finding emphasises the gap between theory and practice even in a field that seems to be familiar to museum workers and so stresses the need for continuous training and scientific updating.

Finally, the fact that both groups have drawn attention to the idea that social history is about "all types and classes of people", a feature also valid for folklore, as well as the fact that in their open-ended replies about folklore and social history similar replies were given makes clear that both folklore and social history are complicated areas which, for visitors and curators alike, as well as in the museum profession in general, seem to have more overlaps and common characteristics than dissimilarities and variations.

7.2.4 The relationship between folk life and social history

The above comment about common elements between the two scholarly fields was further emphasised by directly considering the two disciplines. It is of great interest that the survey outcomes revealed that museum visitors and museum curators have similar opinions about folklore's liaison with social history. Almost similar percentages from both groups supported the idea that the two areas are interconnected, with social history seen as being a wide field which encompasses the smaller segment of folk life (Table 7.10). However, it is also suggested that the raised number of neutral responses for both cases also highlights a general uncertainty about the two concepts.

Table 7.10 *Relationship between folklore and social history (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors (V) and 109 curators(C) respectively in each case*

Statement	Agree %		Neutral%		Disagree%		Missing%	
	V	C	V	C	V	C	V	C
Social history includes folk life	80.9	84.4	12.2	11.0	6.2	4.6	0.7	0.0
Social history and folk life complement one the other	74.0	72.5	17.8	14.7	5.4	11.9	2.7	0.9
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	20.7	20.2	28.3	22.0	47.5	56.0	3.4	1.8
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life	46.8	36.7	27.6	26.6	23.4	35.8	2.2	0.9
Folk life is more informal than social history	33.8	22.0	23.4	18.3	40.3	58.7	2.5	0.9
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	14.2	4.6	16.7	6.4	67.0	89.0	2.2	0.0
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	24.3	9.2	27.6	11.9	45.6	78.0	2.5	0.9
Objects have limited value for social historians	9.1	10.1	26.0	12.8	63.2	77.1	1.8	0.0

The most striking result of this part of the survey is the revelation that a misunderstanding about folklore as an amateur and second-rate discipline cannot be traced to an isolated sector of museum visitors but, ominously, expands to several museum specialists who consider social history a more credible discipline than folklore. This attitude, which may subsequently influence visitors' thoughts, makes the need for theoretical awareness and professional development urgent.

7.2.5 The improvement of folk life and social history displays

As the cumulative table 7.11 below indicates, both museum visitors and museum curators are very enthusiastic about the offered interpretative suggestions and only slight variations in responses from them were observed.

Table 7.11 *Interpretative means that would improve folk life and social history displays according to visitors (V) and curators (C) (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors (V) and 109 curators (C) respectively in each case*

Statement	Agree%		Neutral%		Disagree%		Missing%	
	V	C	V	C	V	C	V	C
Sound and moving images of things being used would improve folk life and social history displays	88.2	95.4	7.6	4.6	2.4	0.0	1.8	0.0
Other audio material would improve folk life and social history displays	79.7	90.8	14.7	8.3	3.3	0.9	2.4	0.0
More explanation about the life of the people who owned the objects would improve folk life and social history displays	77.7	90.8	14.7	8.3	5.6	0.9	2.0	0.0
Taped stories would improve folk life and social history displays	77.7	92.7	16.5	6.4	4.0	0.9	1.8	0.0
More context to the objects on display would improve folk life and social history displays	73.5	90.8	19.8	7.3	5.1	1.8	1.6	0.0
Slide shows would improve folk life and social history displays	71.7	71.6	20.7	23.9	4.9	3.7	2.7	0.9
Computer interaction and exhibits would improve folk life and social history displays	65.5	64.2	22.3	28.4	9.1	6.4	3.1	0.9
Drama of people in everyday activities would improve folk life and social history displays	57.7	62.4	25.2	25.7	13.2	11.0	3.8	0.9

Museum curators are more positive about the various methods whilst museum visitors are more reserved and report more neutral replies. This curatorial enthusiasm about the range of interpretation techniques is in contrast to actual museum practice where, as the Museum Critical Reviews revealed, conventional methods prevail. This gap between curators' views and actual museum practice may be dually interpreted. On the one hand

it might be that museum curators theoretically agree with all interpretative suggestions but when it comes to their work places they cannot apply them either because of financial restraints or because of contradictory views amongst decision-makers. It could also be that museum curators are not aware of museum visitors' views on these matters as audience research and evaluation is rarely conducted in folk life and social history museums and thus there is no pressing need for these museums to engage more innovative techniques of interpretation as a response to the lack of satisfaction of their visitors. The revealed demand from visitors for fresher interpretative techniques should therefore urge museums towards this direction.

7.2.6 Conceptions of the past

An enthusiastic interest in finding out about the past was overtly expressed by both groups and relevant statements accumulated approximately similar percentages. An interesting observation emerges when we compare the attitudes of both groups towards possible negative aspects of the past.

Table 7.12 *Conceptions of the past (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors (V) and 109 curators(C) respectively in each case*

Statement	Agree%		Neutral%		Disagree%		Missing%	
	V	C	V	C	V	C	V	C
Memory of the past informs the present	93.3	96.3	5.8	3.7	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.0
The past is important to everyone	92.6	82.6	4.4	7.3	2.4	10.1	0.7	0.0
It is worth knowing about the past	90.9	98.2	5.6	1.8	2.0	0.0	1.5	0.0
The knowledge of the past is necessary for the future	90.4	89.9	7.1	8.3	1.6	1.8	0.9	0.0
Curiosity about life in the past	83.7	87.2	13.1	6.4	1.8	1.8	1.5	4.6
People worked harder in the past	59.7	35.8	27.4	47.7	12.2	16.5	0.7	0.0
Life was very difficult in the past	55.9	44.0	34.5	45.0	8.7	11.0	0.9	0.0
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	44.6	34.9	35.9	30.3	18.5	30.3	1.1	4.6
There were better values in the past	34.5	14.7	30.3	35.8	33.6	49.5	1.6	0.0
Life was more peaceful in the past	16.0	8.3	27.8	21.1	55.0	70.6	1.3	0.0
Life was better in the past	8.5	3.7	35.2	28.4	54.8	67.9	1.5	0.0
There was no unemployment in the past	8.5	12.8	31.9	87.2	58.1	0.0	1.5	0.0
Studying the past is boring	2.5	0.9	10.2	8.3	86.2	89.9	1.1	0.9

Table 7.13 *Responses to the question "What do you think is the recent past?" (Q 15 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), (N= 680 responses for museum visitors (V) and 161 responses for museum curators(C)*

What do you think is the recent past	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Pre 18th century	2.2	1.9
1800-1850	8.7	5.6
1850-1900	11.3	9.9
1900-1950	32.5	29.8
1950-2000	40.0	50.3
Don't know/no reply	5.3	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0

As Table 7.12 suggests museum visitors appear to attribute a more realistic quality to the way of life in the past, describing it as hard-working and difficult, whilst museum curators are more moderate in their judgements. This curatorial attitude is in line with the more active role that nostalgia and romanticism have been proved to play in shaping curator views about the past which in turn explains the embellished nostalgic picture of the past in many museum displays. In the visitors' case the factors of nostalgia and romanticism may have been influenced by education, status and nationality. Both groups however, agreed that perceptions about the past may depend on different factors and personal experiences.

Table 7.14 *Ways of finding out about daily life in the recent past (Source: Q 12 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 visitors and 109 curators respectively in each case*

Statement	Visitors (%)	Curators (%)
Asking elder people about the past	26.1	32.1
Reading a book about it	22.7	20.2
Visiting a museum	21.1	33.0
Watching a television programme about it	14.5	10.1
Listening to an expert talking about it	6.9	1.8
No reply/multiple replies	4.4	0.0
Asking in your local library	4.0	0.0
Missing	0.4	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Lastly, both museum visitors and museum curators identified the recent past as the 20th century. Visiting a museum, though first in curators preferred ways of finding out about the past, came only third in visitors' preferences, who were attracted to a variety of other ways (see Tables 7.13 and 7.14 respectively).

7.3 Addressing the research questions

After summarising the fundamental outcomes of the empirical research of the study and before moving on to recommendations for the "folk" museum of the 21st century, let us briefly consider the responses to the five research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis, as they have emerged from the combined phases of the project. An overview of the basic points, which have been adequately indicated throughout the thesis, is presented below:

i. Can folklore/folk life actually be represented in a museum?

Because of folklore's omnipotent and multidisciplinary nature and its primary concern to understand how people see themselves, it could be utilised in innumerable types of museums from archaeological and historical ones to science museums and zoos or arboretums. Certainly these institutions vary widely in their scope, aims and objectives but as they all aim at visitor engagement and education they can benefit from a parallel exploration of folkloristic issues in their communicative approaches. Such an interpretative attitude may democratise displays and offer alternative stories about the objects presented so widening visitor experiences and expanding folklore as a concept in visitors' and curators' minds. To offer an example of folklore playing an active role in museums other than pure folk life or history ones, we could mention folk medicine as a part of a medical display in a science museum, crafts shown along with modern technological devices in a technological museum, and occupational lore incorporated in the interpretation of various folk groups (e.g. jargon amongst doctors or computer professionals).

The inclusion of folkloristic themes in a multiplicity of museum displays and activities is also in line with modern folklorists' arguments which, after the initial opposition to the application of folklore outside the academia, expressed in the USA, have reassessed the divides and have bridged the split between academic and public folklore by reinforcing folklore's appliance in a variety of settings (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988; Jones 1994; Kurin 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998b; Bulger 2003).

ii. Is social history the modern version of folk life?

In his historiographical survey of history and folklore Peter Burke (Burke 2004) underscores the notion that history and folklore have undergone three phases: the "age

of harmony" which is traced to just after the First World War when both disciplines were at their inception and is characterised by the lack of strict disciplinary boundaries; the "age of suspicion" which is put between 1920s and 1970s when borders between the two disciplines became sharper, with folklore, along with its adjacent disciplines of anthropology and sociology, being concentrated mainly on the present and recent past, and history being concerned only about the past; and the "age of rapprochement" which begun in the 1970s and continues to date. The emergence, and academic reception of, social history in the 1960s which has been said to have risen out of the folklore movement (Henare 2005, 244) and the study of sociology was a move into a field long worked by folklorists and so brought the two disciplines closer. More specifically, social history's concern with aspects of everyday life through humble material culture artefacts, oral testimonies of ordinary people and social memory, blurred any perceived edges and opened up avenues for collaborations.

We could therefore assume that folklore and social history are two separate disciplines with many common grounds which are offered for fruitful collaboration. Both disciplines can benefit from each other by using alternate methodologies in their enquiries into various subjects and hence by promoting interdisciplinarity. Such an approach would enlighten those visitors and curators who erroneously tended to consider social history as the wide area which contains folklore or who have doubts about the content and relationship of the two disciplines and, also, help visitors who see social history as a politically biased, class based endeavour.

Embracing the same attitude, museums should halt the common practice of segregating folklore artefacts and exhibits as those that present past and rural cultures and social history ones as those that depict urban and contemporary societies. This is an inappropriate classification which accounts for the major misunderstanding in folkloristics, especially if we bear in mind that, incongruously, it was folklore, as opposed to history, that first expressed an interest in the contemporary.

A more well-rounded interpretation of folklore which would place emphasis on indicating local cultural change and economic and social evolution within an historical framework through the interrelation of past, present and future would offer a more integrated and realistic picture of culture and would help visitors to appreciate folklore as a continuing and evolving thread throughout time.

iii. What do ordinary people, potential visitors to museums, think of the terms folklore/folk life and social history?

This research question has been meticulously answered in the chapter that presented and analysed the outcomes of the visitor survey. For visitors, folklore is embodied in the rural distant past whilst there is no clarity about what social history encompasses.

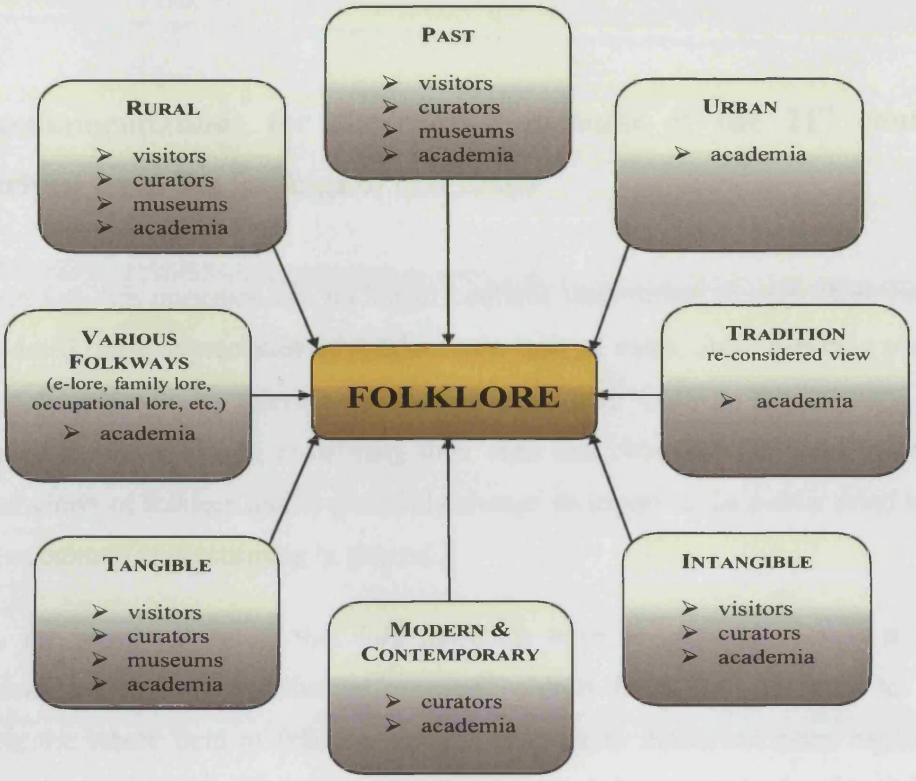
iv. Is there any communication gap between visitors and curators in the case of folk life exhibitions and, if there is one, how could it be bridged? What information do both sides think the folk life museum should or could convey?

Both surveys as well as the Museum Critical Reviews have provided answers to the above question. It seems that the prime communication gap that emerged is not the one between visitors and curators, who in principle hold similar views, but the one between folklore in the academia and folklore in museums and in the public mind. It has been clearly indicated that as far as folklore is concerned museums and academia had been uneasy bedfellows which support and promote contradictory views.

One of the main reasons for these differences, pointed out throughout the thesis and shown in summary in Figure 7.1 on the next page, has been the lack of trained folklorists in European museums, those who could be close to the production of advanced folklore research and could accommodate additional perspectives in the museum arena. On top of that, folklore training and professional development in terms of the acquisition of a critical knowledge of folklore in existing museum staffing, is substantially lacking. Both situations have severe consequences in the areas of collecting policies, exhibition content and design, and fundamentally in investigation and interpretation of the everyday culture of ordinary people. Specialised training of staff in the methodology and concept of folklore could have a vital impact in decision making about collecting and interpretation which, in turn, could convey accurate ideas about folklore to the public.

In fact, it is not the first time that a problematic relationship between a professional academic discipline and its applied equivalent in museums has been identified. A similar situation has recently been described with reference to the folklore adjoining scholarly field of history which, as far as its museum interpretation is concerned, has been said to have become a commodity for the leisure and publishing industry in ways divorced from academic principles and research (Jordanova 2000).

Figure 7.1 *Folklore attributes according to the views of the different stakeholders identified for this thesis.*



v. Why does the representation of everyday life in Greek and many other European museums stop at the beginning of the 20th century?

This question has been answered by the findings regarding both visitors and curators' views about folklore and their conceptions about the past as well as by the Museum Critical Reviews.

In European museums daily life is usually interpreted in history and folk life museums. Stereotyped notions of folklore as something which belongs to the distant rather than the recent past or present, an attitude which has been identified as held by both visitors and curators, allows easily drawn conclusions to the question posed above. Museum curators place folklore in the isolated past and, therefore this is what they interpret in their museums. Also the circumstance that "history" as a discipline is also associated with the past leaves little room for the inclusion of present day life phenomena in relevant museums. However, given modern perspectives about folklore, history and

tradition, as well as visitors' and curators' identification of the recent past as in the 20th century the above situation calls for change so that more present day phenomena could be expected to be interpreted in cultural history museums in the future.

7.4 Recommendations for the "folk" museum of the 21st century derived from the findings of this thesis

European folk life museums can no longer continue undisturbed to offer their visitors the out-dated, false appreciation of folklore as a relic of olden times denoting peasant people only and with no relevance to the modern world. Quite to the contrary, they could play a central role in re-defining their aims and objectives in order to rectify distorted views of folklore and to positively change its image in the public mind to the benefit of cultural understanding in general.

Indeed, the major challenge that folk museums have to contend with is moving themselves from simply exhibiting "rescued" objects from their reserves to fully engaging the whole field of folklore research in order to illuminate many aspects of modern societies. Under the prism of folkloric principles museums could grab the opportunity to change from being simply cultural institutions to being cultural agents which encourage the understanding of multicultural suburban environments and promote social engagement and inclusion. Folklore gives people and communities their identity and purpose and folk museums should work towards this direction in order to overtly explore diverse communities and imbue in their visitors the qualities of understanding, tolerance and cultural interaction.

The following guidelines have been formulated with a pro-active museum in mind; it could or could not use the term folk or social history in its title. The guidelines are also relevant to all museums which take the decision to apply a folkloristic perspective to their collections. They cover the following aspects:

- Reformulation of mission statements - Trusteeship of culture in context;
- Collection policies update and contemporary collecting;
- Curatorial continuing professional development in folkloric perspectives;

- Fresher interpretation approaches.

7.4.1 Reformulation of mission statements - Trusteeship of culture in context

A rigorous promotion of the presentation of past practices and beliefs along with present practices and beliefs is called for.

Folk life museums should look to the past not in a backward way but in a way that is relevant to the present. Following that, popular culture of today should be presented alongside folk culture of the past in order to highlight the continuum of cultural phenomena and promote a general understanding of social life. Popular material culture is the natural continuance of folk material culture and it has been indicated that contemporary cultural developments which were on the surface unrelated to folk culture had their roots in it. To give an example, it is claimed that the labour movement was born in the craft workshop and not with the new industrial labourers of the 19th and 20th centuries (Thompson 1991). Equally, traditional forms of folk culture were shaped by increased urbanisation, wealth and leisure so that new forms of mass or commercial culture emerged (Mukerji and Schudson 1986, 52). This argument does not imply that all popular culture, which is so much favoured in social history museums, is folklore and so should be incorporated in the aims of folk life museums. What needs to be emphasised is the urge to regard culture in context and to address the issue of cultural change more directly (Deetz 1987).

As Lawrence Levine brilliantly has pointed out "culture may not be seamless, it is connected; it does not exist -at least not outside the academic world- in neatly separate boxes waiting for the scholar's labels" (Levine 1992, 1372). People in urban industrial societies refashion even mass produced objects to fit their own values and expectations (Moore 1997, 73) as shown in the recent exhibition *Folk Archive: contemporary popular art from the UK* (Barbican Art Gallery, The Curve, 12 May-24 July 2005), which presented present-day folk art developed in the light of recent social, technological and cultural changes (Deller and Kane 2005). In this way popular culture is employed in much the same way as folklore in terms of use and ability to penetrate a collective consciousness (Levine 1992). Indeed the realisation that terms such as "authentic", "traditional", "popular", and "folk" should be considered as socially constructed and contingent in order to "move beyond an idealised, transhistorical notion

of the "folk" as the bearers of some authentic, preindustrial culture" (Kelley 1992, 1408) very much applies to folk life museums. As a result, paraphrasing Robin Kelley, unless folk museums see modern and traditional as mutually constitutive and constituting, they will miss the dynamic process by which culture is created to the detriment of the discipline of folklore and illumination of museum visitors alike. The exploration of urban along with peasant folklore in contemporary folk museums together with the reconsideration of the notion of tradition as a construct rather than an inheritance (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983) – old customs are constantly modified to fit contemporary situations – will offer a counterbalanced interpretation of "rural" and "urban" and will assist in reshaping visitors' thinking about folklore.

The consideration of culture in context through an intertwining of tangible and intangible, rural and urban, past and contemporary may increase folk life/social history museums' audience appeal and may move them beyond the institutional naming and branding misunderstanding that labels folklore as rural and past and social history as urban and contemporary. Perhaps, as many museums have already done, branding names should be reconsidered as neither the term "folk" nor the term "social history" are inclusive of all the aspects described above.

Along the same lines some museums may need to alter their mission statements and move towards the celebration of dynamic expressive behaviours of both the past and the present.

7.4.2 Collection policies update and contemporary collecting

Folk life museums should adopt an object collecting strategy that reflects modern times and the nature of the discipline and profession of folklore. Folklore is about cultural ideas so a "people-oriented strategy" which is directed towards cultural anthropology is far better than an "object-focused" collecting approach. The choice of the above strategy is vindicated by Barbro Bursell who has emphasized that a people-oriented approach "demands that the collector takes a more proactive role and seeks out a subject and determines which symbolically loaded objects to acquire for the museum" (Bursell 1999, 159). Folklore's main focus is the exploration of how people shape deeply felt values in meaningful forms (Hymes 1975, 346) and the folklorists' role has been said to be finding things that are underrepresented and undervalued and "bring them up to get

their due" (Back and Charnow 2002, 134). These objects may be aesthetically unappealing but their symbolical intrinsic value and their importance in people's everyday lives contribute significantly to the generation of high quality collections and to the education of visitors in the meaning of objects. Collecting for a folk life museum could be an intriguing task and it is important that members of staff should have a realistic aptitude for fieldwork and knowledge of the cultural milieu from which they gather data (and which they do not necessarily share). This practice would make curators more ethically responsible, sensitive and respectful towards the informants of the folk group under their scrutiny.

Collecting policies should expand contemporary collecting if modern aspects of contemporary lives and expressive forms and behaviours are to be documented and displayed along with ways of life in the past. The academic reallocation of folkloric interest to abstract modern ideas should urge museums to fulfil their social role by moving away from the typical practice of accumulating "antique" rural objects in collections and showcases. Given the fact that one of the reasons why museums persevere in displaying rural material from past cultures has been deficiency in items that embody new themes of modern societies, the need for contemporary collecting becomes even more omnipotent.

Beyond the contents of existing collections problem, another factor that could account for folk life museums' past and rural material character is, perhaps, the difficulty in seeing folkloric character in everyday objects of the present day because they are so familiar. Text messaging phones, bodylore and Doc Martin shoes are certainly emblematic of folk culture of the late 20th and 21st century as are the jokes and the lore transmitted through e-mails and the web. Some of these forms tend to be ephemeral and disposable if not collected immediately and folk museums' role in collecting and presenting e-lore, for example 9/11 political materials framed as cultural artefacts, is crucial. In some cases there is greater difficulty in identifying folkloric material culture of the present, in contrast to the comparative ease of identifying the intangible folkloric heritage of today, such as events, festivals and fairs, which are more easily identified.

Intangible heritage should be certainly given an equal weight in collecting activities. The challenge for the modern folk life museum is to move beyond peasant traditional costumes and agricultural tools to verbal art and music, oral history and reminiscences, films and television commercials, festivals and parades, football songs, street

performers and rebellious graffiti and all those values which are articulated through expressive behaviours of various folk groups. Oral tradition should be used in conjunction with material culture and in relation to existing museum collections in order to clarify and reinforce the presented cultural data.

The expansion and update of current collection policies to encompass all contemporary cultural representation of diverse audiences is crucial if we are interested in disseminating the notion of folklore as a modern and universal concept.

7.4.3 Curatorial continuing professional development in folkloric perspectives

A crucial step towards a more up to date direction is the involvement, either through employment or through consultation, of trained folklorists in exhibition making as well as the constant updating and training of museum staff who deal with folklore collections.

The current UK museum trend of employing curators with a generic MA in Museum Studies rather than in the specialisation of the collections under their care may have a dangerous effect on collection scholarship. The example of the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight testifies to this. Here paintings which had been hung at a particular height specific to their character were re-hung lower for the sake of politically correct considerations (access to children and disabled in wheelchair) with the consequent result of the spoiling of their aesthetic appeal (Delingpole 2006). This act could have been avoided if the informed opinion of an art historian had been taken into consideration and a different solution for better access had been sought.

Similarly, the folklorist perspective is essential for fully understanding community culture and for communicating to visitors the complexity and cultural diversity of various folk groups within a locality. Furthermore, folklorists can provide definitive basic folkloric concepts through exhibitions so enlightening visitors about folklore's fundamental values while altering negative attitudes as folk life museum curators will then be more aware of the richness of the collections under their care. The early example of the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico, which in the 1970s mounted an exhibition named "What is Folk Art?" (Lange 1987) could inspire contemporary European museums with folklore or social history collections to

consider similar exhibitions which could challenge major stereotypes by making people think and reflect upon them.

The perspective of folklorists is also essential in effectively collaborating with specialists of other cultural domains in order to support cultural preservation and influence policy makers who may have diametrically opposed positions about folklore (Bulger 2003, 389). Cross-fertilisation with allied disciplines is essential and can be very beneficial as each partner may contribute ideas to others and all can work together productively. At the same time, the introduction of some basic folklore theory into school curricula (Workman 1979) and the organisation of folklore workshops by specialists could enlighten young people about these cultural and civic issues; the same certainly applies for social history. Moreover, folklore courses should also be offered in University programmes in countries that lack them.

7.4.4 Fresher interpretation approaches

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett distinguishes between two styles of exhibiting and interpretation as far as ethnographic objects are concerned. The *in situ* approach which is as realist as possible with little, if no, interpretation at all, which lacks neutrality but reflects the visions of those who construct the exhibition (this is the favoured approach of European folk life museums, e.g. reconstructed rooms) and the *in context* style which uses extensive explanation and interpretation techniques to convey concepts and so treats objects as documents to be interpreted by visitors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). As the two approaches are not mutually exclusive I would argue that an inspiring combination of the two which would provide visitors with alternative views, beyond what they see in the actual exhibition, could be most appropriate for modern museums that embrace the alternative focus of displaying "the social practices of everyday life" rather than material culture only (Welz 2000, 73).

On the other hand, reservations have been expressed that the attempt to reproduce somebody else's tradition as it really is, depicts a picture that is fossilised rather than that of a dynamic living culture (Toelken 1979). Although this is not necessarily the case such a possibility should be definitely weighed up (Nas 2002) and steps should be taken to avoid it. In fact, consultation with, and involvement of, representatives from the actual folk group whose traditions are to be presented in the design of a museum's

interpretative activities, will guarantee accurate and authentic depictions of people's expressive behaviours, so preventing the invention of artistic stereotypes and avoiding the pitfalls of *folklorismus* and the limits that simple re enactments of past or present life might pose. Only members of an individual folk group know the values that the group itself considers important and can provide an authentic idea of what the group thinks of itself ensuring, therefore, revealing a genuine insider's view. The esoteric/exoteric distinction (see chapter 2, section 2.5) is crucial in folklore museum interpretation as it provides multifaceted views of the same subject or artefact, reaches beyond misconceptions that non-participant "outsiders" may have about an object, event or folk experience, and at the end educates visitors and members of the folk group itself about the differing ways in which culture can be interpreted or lived (Hall 1987, 81; Hernandez 1994, 65). The interactive examination and presentation of a group's own self identification together with other groups' beliefs and perceptions about it, as well as with presenting views of the same group about others, is critical for Museums of European Cultures. They should aim at supporting European harmony within each group's parameters through highlighting and explaining otherness and individual groups' peculiarities.

The innovative participation and contribution of folk communities in the exhibitions of the new National Museum of the American Indian (Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC) which have been prepared - and in many cases curated - with close consultation with Native communities, enables visitors to perceive the insider's philosophy about life, while at the same time inspiring dialogue and leaving space for the final interpretation to the viewer. Although the National Museum of the American Indian is an ethnographic museum its interpretation approaches provide an excellent paradigm for the proposed European "folk life" museums which could tailor their communicative methods around similar axes and so go beyond stereotyped and dogmatic presentations.

Another successful interpretative example, which points a direction for European folk life museums, is the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival which presents intangible heritage such as storytelling, performances, craft demonstrations, foodways, music and dance, drawn from the diverse ethnic, regional and occupational groups of American society. Apart from providing a forum in which community members express their identity the festival expands the ways in which audiences learn about the cultural beliefs and values of their neighbours, opens up discussions and broadens the museum constituency by serving as an outreach activity to target audiences. Moreover, the

organisation of programmes with discussions amongst tradition bearers, local scholars, and curators must clarify many issues about folk cultural aspects for both insiders and outsiders and could perhaps provide a stimulus for a new appreciation of folk culture itself. Nevertheless, museums potential and responsibility in accommodating diverse constituencies through forming strong communicative circles between exhibits and their viewers has been extensively asserted as vital and imperative and many thought-provoking and fascinating case studies exist so far (Karp and Lavine 1991; Karp, Kreamer et al. 1992; Hooper-Greenhill 1997; Sandell 2002).

In the same spirit, other more familiar museum-based interpretation techniques could also offer imaginative ways to engage visitors' interest, to enhance public understanding of folklore/social history, and to open up more challenging, complex issues. The presentation of artists and performers in conjunction with folk art exhibits and hands on workshops to create various artefacts; live interpretation following thorough historical and folkloristic research; the inventive adaptation of inspiring computer programmes; the installation of videos and oral history projects, songs, music and storytelling; and other outreach programmes such as touring exhibitions which extend the museum assistance to given communities and encourage the involvement of groups of people who are generally under presented by conventional history, are just a few techniques in the service of museum curators and exhibition designers today which could be helpfully deployed.

Folk life or social history museums document peoples' lives and culture through stories and it is that powerful social history continuity and dynamism that should be recorded. Whatever branding name they chose, they should feel obliged to accommodate and celebrate differences through an accurate and sensitive approach which illuminates the contexts and relationships between cultural aspects and various communities and serves the social function of educating people on how to read cultural history. The combination of widening of collection policies and novel interpretation practices to embrace of all aspects of folk culture, tangible and intangible, past and present, rural and urban, would disseminate an acute understanding of the concept of folklore and the extent of its semantic variations.

J. W. Y. Higgs in his work *Folk Life Collection and Classification* points out that the aim of a folk museum is very wide in the sense that it "should endeavour to show man's activities in relation to the environment which he lives" (Higgs 1963, 4), while G.

Thompson is even more explicit when he states that a folk museum exists to illustrate the "day to day history" of the community it serves (Thompson 1985, 28). Points of views such as these make obvious the need for museums with a folklore concern to re-interpret their interpretive aims and objectives in order to follow the current stream.

7.5 The contribution of this thesis to museology

This thesis has proposed a new approach to considering folklore and social history in contemporary museums, and has opened up new possibilities for the future. The new perspective generated by this research, emerges from the theoretical and methodological approaches that were embraced.

A call to professional development

An in depth analysis of the present and possible future status of folk life museums and collections has been made available to those working in museums and the highlights of this thesis will be disseminated in professional journals.

Personal impact which can be conveyed to others

The crucial adoption of a contemporary theoretical framework which considers folklore as a dynamic communication process and a viable evolving part of culture moved the author, who is a curator of folk life in a national museum in Greece, away from the stipulated theoretical boundaries of the past that regarded folklore as old and peasant material culture and opened a new window to its interpretation in European museums of today. The same theoretical insights supported my view of culture as a continuing coherent "whole" and the theorisation of folklore and social history as distinct but adjacent perspectives through which various collections of different kinds of museums can be illuminated, and culturally diverse folk groups can be appreciated and understood by both insiders and outsiders.

A ground-breaking programme of interviews with curators and visitors

The interrogation of museum visitors and museum curators about folklore and social history has put people in the centre of the enquiry and filled in a gap long missing from the museological disciplines of folklore and social history as well as from the usual practices of folk life and social history museums. Apart from a small scale survey

regarding undergraduate students' perceptions about the discipline of folklore, conducted in 1998 in Towson University, USA (Douglas 2000), nothing else has been done either in that continent or in Europe. Despite the current orientation of museums towards their audiences, visitor research is not given a high priority in folk life and social history museum gallery developments and events (Davies 1999, 1) so no examination of visitors' views about these issues had been done previously. Also no investigation of museum curators' views about folklore or social history has ever been conducted.

Rigour allowed for formulation of internal consistency of research design

Putting visitors and curators at the core of the research investigation allowed me to see and reflect on their perceptions about folklore and social history and provided me with a canvas on which I could draw a detailed picture of doubts, misconceptions and misunderstandings regarding the two disciplines that need immediate remedy. The consistent analysis of all sets of data derived from visitor and curator survey as well as from the Museum Critical Reviews (see below) allowed correlations and comparisons and detected variations that otherwise may have been overlooked.

A ground-breaking Museum Critical Reviews programme of evaluation and record of the state of folk life museum displays in the beginning of the 21st century

A thorough recording of folklore embodiment and expression in a range of European museums through the Museum Critical Reviews allowed concrete proof of a communication gap between folklore theory and museological practice and further exposed the prejudice that legitimises folklore as rural and past and social history as urban and contemporary. Such an investigation has not been reported previously.

The triangulation of the research methodology

All the above theoretical decisions, methodological tactics and subsequent conclusions lead to a set of recommendations for a model future institution which would entail the folkloristic perspective in its conceptual framework.

7.6 Future work

After evaluating the implications of this study into the interpretation of folklore and social history in contemporary European museums, and having stated the main contributions to museology of the work, it is worth discussing possible areas of further expansion of this research as many interesting and promising ideas have been generated through the bulk of work that led to this thesis.

- This study set out to investigate museum visitor perceptions, so an important issue that arises from this limitation calls for a possible extension of the research to non-visitors. This would provide a more holistic view of the feelings of the general population towards folklore.

- Equally interesting would be the exploration of the views of specific groups of people, for example folk artists, craftsmen or storytellers, who by virtue of their occupation are closer to tradition, as traditions are often reshaped or recreated by them.

- Following the indication that folklore is a less familiar notion for the younger generations, the implementation of a similar study to this one with a larger sample of young individuals would discover more precisely how they relate themselves to folk culture and could reveal new ways of stimulating of their interest.

- Another line of research would be to investigate, through research projects in different European countries, to what degree ethnicity and nationality affect the way folklore is perceived.

- The current research could be extended "in breadth", through the analysis of any associations between folklore and concepts such as cultural identity and nationalism.

- The study could be extended through a more qualitatively oriented research methodology.

I want to believe that my thesis will suggest possibilities and encourage further studies on the subject of folklore in museums which will, in turn, widen and enrich our

understanding of contemporary and diverse societies and revolutionize our experience and interpretation of culture, heritage and cultural values.

Appendix I

Pilot Questionnaire

	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1)	Folk life is old fashioned	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2)	Folk life is familiar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3)	Folk art is not really art	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4)	Folk life is traditional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5)	Folk life has nothing to do with technology	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6)	Folk life is traditional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7)	Folk life is only about costumes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8)	Everything traditional is very conservative and conventional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9)	Folk life is about nostalgia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10)	Folk life studies rural life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11)	Folklore has nothing to do with today society	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12)	Folk life is a credible academic discipline	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13)	A folk life museum lacks depth and intellectual purpose	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14)	Folk life exhibitions are very stereotyped representations of the past	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15)	Folk life displays are sentimental	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16)	Folk life displays show us familiar things we can identify with	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17)	Social history studies urban life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18)	Social history and folk life are identical	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19)	Life was better in the past	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20)	Oral stories about the past should be in museums	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21)	History is about important personalities and events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22)	Museums present history to suit their own way of thinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Are you: a curator ☐; a warden ☐; office staff ☐; services ☐

male ☐; female ☐

Age group: 15-18 ☐; 19-24 ☐; 25-34 ☐; 35-44 ☐;

45-54 ☐; 55-64 ☐; 65+ ☐

Appendix II

Survey Questionnaire

Here is a questionnaire about folk life, social history, our relationship to the recent past, and museum displays about such things. There are no right or wrong answers, please give the response closest to your own feelings. All information will be treated with the strictest confidence and you will not be identified in any way.

FOLK LIFE

1. *Please name any folk life museum exhibitions you have visited recently.*

2. *What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?*

3. *These are some of the things some people have said folk life might be about. Put a ✓ beside the items you think are related to folk life.*

Manners and habits of a nation	☐	Photographs	☐
Traditions and customs of a village community	☐	Popular culture of today	☐
Everyday life of ordinary people in the past	☐	Rural culture of today	☐
Everyday life of ordinary people in the present	☐	Rural culture of the past	☐
A past studied by academics	☐	Agricultural tools	☐
Something that belongs to museums	☐	Country furniture	☐
Dialects	☐	City street culture	☐
Old traditions	☐	Markets	☐
Legends and fairy tales	☐	Nationalism	☐
Clothing	☐	Cultural identity	☐
Embroidery	☐	Local identity	☐
Lace	☐	Pre-industrial times	☐
Special dishes	☐	Birthday celebrations	☐
Traditional cooking utensils	☐	Wedding receptions	☐
Movies	☐	Festive celebrations	☐
Music and songs	☐	Religion	☐

4. *Any other suggestions?*

5. *These are some of the attitudes some people might have towards folk life. How far do you agree or disagree with them?*

Folk life is:	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Marginal to modern times	☐	☐	☐
Old fashioned	☐	☐	☐
Picturesque	☐	☐	☐
Still alive	☐	☐	☐
Dynamic	☐	☐	☐
Evolves over time	☐	☐	☐
Opinions, beliefs or customs handed down from ancestors to posterity	☐	☐	☐
Folk life traditions are handed down orally or by example	☐	☐	☐
Folk life traditions are based on accumulated experience and continuous uses	☐	☐	☐

SOCIAL HISTORY

This is a questionnaire about social history. You can think of social history as the story of changes in society in recent centuries.

6. *These are some of the things people have said social history is about. Please indicate the topics you personally would include in the story of society in recent centuries.*

Social history is about:	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
The rights of ordinary people	☐	☐	☐
Anything except political history	☐	☐	☐
Oral history that is not written down	☐	☐	☐
Written history of society	☐	☐	☐
History that the states do not encourage to teach	☐	☐	☐
A discipline for the university people to study	☐	☐	☐
Mainly about the ordinary man and woman	☐	☐	☐
About all types and classes of people	☐	☐	☐
About democracy	☐	☐	☐
The study of the structures of the society	☐	☐	☐
Mass production	☐	☐	☐
Industrial times	☐	☐	☐
Domestic things	☐	☐	☐
Work	☐	☐	☐
Travel	☐	☐	☐
Transport	☐	☐	☐
Health	☐	☐	☐

7. *Any other suggestions?*

8. *Do you think that there are social history displays in Greece? Could you name one?*

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL HISTORY AND FOLK LIFE

Now some questions about folk life and social history together.

9. *Do you agree or disagree with these things?*

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Social history includes folk life	☐	☐	☐
Social history and folk life complement one the other	☐	☐	☐
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	☐	☐	☐
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life	☐	☐	☐
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	☐	☐	☐
Folk life is more informal than social history	☐	☐	☐
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	☐	☐	☐
Objects have limited value for social historians	☐	☐	☐

10. *These are some of the things about museums that would improve folk life and social history displays. What do you think?*

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Taped stories	☐	☐	☐
Other audio material	☐	☐	☐
Sound and moving images of things being used	☐	☐	☐
Slide shows	☐	☐	☐
Actors in their everyday activities	☐	☐	☐
Computer interaction and exhibits	☐	☐	☐
More context to the objects on display	☐	☐	☐
More explanation about life of the people who owned the objects	☐	☐	☐

CONCEPTIONS OF THE PAST

These questions are about conceptions of the recent past (1800–1950).

11. These are some of the attitudes people might have towards the recent past. What do you think?

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
The past is important to everyone	☐	☐	☐
Memory of the past informs the present	☐	☐	☐
The knowledge of the past is necessary for the future	☐	☐	☐
It is worth knowing about the past	☐	☐	☐
Studying the past is boring	☐	☐	☐
Being curious about life in the past, how people lived, etc.	☐	☐	☐
Being nostalgic and romantic about the past	☐	☐	☐
Life was better in the past	☐	☐	☐
There were better values in the past (e.g. family was closer, people were more religious, there was less crime)	☐	☐	☐
Life was more peaceful	☐	☐	☐
There was no unemployment	☐	☐	☐
Life was very difficult	☐	☐	☐
People worked harder	☐	☐	☐

12. If you wanted to find out about daily life in the recent past, what for you would be the most enjoyable way of doing it? ***(Tick one box only)***

- Visiting a museum ☐
- Reading a book about it ☐
- Asking in your local library ☐
- Watching a television programme about it ☐
- Asking elder people about the past ☐
- Listening to an expert talk about it ☐

13. By now, in summary, could you try to make a definition of the term "folk life".

14. *Please write down what the word tradition means to you.*

15. *Please describe what you think life in the recent past was like for the ordinary person. What do you think is the recent past (please give a precise time)?*

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

The following section is a list of questions about yourself. Please respond either by ticking the appropriate box or by writing the relevant answer on the blank space.

16. *Age group:*

15-18 ☐; 19-24 ☐; 25-34 ☐; 35-44 ☐;
45-54 ☐; 55-64 ☐; 65+ ☐.

17. *Educational Level:* ***(tick one box)***

Have university degree ☐; Have technological diploma ☐;
A levels ☐; Still at school ☐;
Studying for a qualification ☐; Finished education at age 15 ☐.

18. *Where are you from?*

19. *Which one of these work categories do you fall into?* ***(tick one box)***

Retired ☐; Student ☐; Unemployed ☐;
Working part time ☐; Working full time ☐.

20. *Record gender:* Male ☐; Female ☐.

That is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix III

Additional information on Museums Critically Reviewed

AUSTRIA

Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art

Address: Laudongasse 15-19, A-1080, Vienna

Visiting times: Tuesday - Sunday 10.00 – 17.00

Admission charges: € 4.35; concessions € 2.90; family-ticket € 7.25

URL: http://www.volkskundemuseum.at/

Visited: 28/06/2004

Wien Museum Karlsplatz

Address: Karlsplatz, A-1040 Vienna

Visiting times: Tuesday - Sunday 10.00 - 18.00; Wednesday 10.00 - 20.00

Admission charges: € 4; concessions € 2

URL: http://www.wienmuseum.at/75.asp

Visited: 29/06/2004

BELGIUM

The Folklore Museum in Antwerp, Volkskundemuseum

Address: Gildekamersstraat 2-6, B-2000 Antwerp

Visiting times: Tuesday - Sunday 10.00 - 17.00

Admission charges: €2.5; concessions €1.25; free entrance under 12's and school groups

URL: http://museum.antwerpen.be/volkskunde/

Visited: 24/08/2004

The Folklore Museum in Bruges, Volkskundemuseum

Address: Balstraat 43, 8000 Bruges

Visiting times: Tuesday - Sunday 9.30 - 17.00

Admission charges: €3; concessions €2; free entrance under 13's

URL: http://www.brugge.be/musea/

Visited: 20/07/2002

FINLAND

Helsinki City Museum

Address: Sofiankatu 4, Helsinki

Visiting times: Monday - Friday 9.00 - 17.00; Saturday-Sunday 11.00 - 17.00

Admission charges: €3; concessions €1.5; free entrance on Thursdays

URL: http://www.hel.fi/kaumuseo/

Visited: 07/07/2003

The Luostarinmäki Handicrafts Museum

Address: Luostarinmäki, 20700 Turku

Visiting times: 16/04-15/9 daily 10.00-18.00; 16/09-15/04 Tuesday-Sunday 10.00-15.00

Admission charges: €3.40; concessions €2.60; groups and families 20% off

URL: http://www.turku.fi/museo/english/handcraf.htm

Visited: 18/07/2003

FRANCE

Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires

Address: 6, avenue du Mahatma Gandhi, 750116 Paris

Visiting times: daily 09.45-17.00

Admission charges: € 4; concessions €2.60; free entrance under 18's and first Sunday of the month

URL: http://www.musee-atp.fr/

Visited: 23/03/2004

GERMANY

The German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum)

Address: Unter den Linden 2, 10117 Berlin, Pei-Building: Hinter dem Gießhaus 3, D-10117 Berlin

Visiting times: daily 10.00-18.00

Admission charges: Free entrance

URL: http://www.dhm.de/

Visited: 22/04/2004

Jewish Museum Berlin

Address: Lindenstraße 9-14, 10969 Berlin

Visiting times: Monday 10.00-22.00; Tuesday-Sunday: 10.00-20.00

Admission charges: 5 €; concessions 2.50 €; free entrance under 6's

URL: http://www.jmberlin.de/

Visited: 19/04/2004

Museum of European Cultures (Museum Europäischer Kulturen)

Address: Im Winkel 6/8, 14195 Berlin

Visiting times: Tuesday-Sunday 10.00-18.00

Admission charges: 4 €; concessions 2 €; free entrance under 6's; school classes; students and first Sunday of the month

URL: http://www.smb.spk-berlin.de/

Visited: 21/04/2004

Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg

Address: Schloßstraße 69, 14059 Berlin

Visiting times: Tuesday-Friday 10.00-17.00; Sunday 11.00-17.00

Admission charges: Free entrance

URL: http://www.heimatmuseum-charlottenburg-wilmersdorf.de/

Visited: 18/04/2004

GREECE

National Historical Museum/Folk Life Galleries

Address: The Old Parliament Building, 13 Stadiou Street, 105 61 Athens

Visiting times: Tuesday-Sunday 9.00-14.00

Admission charges: €3; concessions €1; free entrance students and on Sunday

URL: http://www.culture.gr/4/42/421/42103/42103e/e42103e1.html

Visited: 05/08/2004

The Benaki Museum

Address: 1 Koumbari Street, 106 74 Athens

Visiting times: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday 9.00-17.00; Thursday 9.00 – 24.00; Sunday 9.00 – 15.00

Admission charges: €6; concessions €3; free entrance on Thursday

URL: http://www.benaki.gr/

Visited: 12/01/2005

Museum of Greek Folk Art

Address: Kydathinaion 17, Plaka, Athens, 105 58

Visiting times: Tuesday-Sunday 08.30-15.00 during winter months; Tuesday-Sunday 08.00-19.00 and Monday 12.00-19.00 during summer months

Admission charges: €2; concessions €1; free entrance children, students, archaeologists, conservators, journalists and on Sunday

URL: http://www.culture.gr/4/42/421/42101/42101t/e42101a.html/

Visited: 11/01/2005

LUXEMBOURG

Museum of History of the city of Luxembourg

Address: 14, rue du Saint-Esprit L-2090

Visiting times: Tuesday-Sunday 10.00-18.00; Thursday 10.00-20.00

Admission charges: €5; concessions €3.70; groups of fifteen to fifty persons €3.70 pp; groups more than fifty persons €2.40 pp; children under 12 free entrance

URL: http://www.musee-hist.lu/page_1.html

Visited: 22/02/2004

National Museum of History and Art, Section of Decorative and Popular Arts

Address: Marché-aux-Poissons, L-2345

Visiting times: Tuesday-Sunday 10.00-17.00; Section of Decorative and Popular Arts: Tuesday-Sunday 14.00-16.45

Admission charges: €5; concessions €3; families €10; groups more than ten persons €3 pp; free entrance children and school groups

URL: http://www.mnha.public.lu/

Visited: 20/02/2004

THE NETHERLANDS

The Volendam Museum

Address: Zeestraat 41, 1131 ZD Volendam

Visiting times: daily 10.00-17.00

Admission charges: €1.75; people over 65 and groups more than twelve persons €1.5 pp; children up to 14 years old €1

URL: http://www.volendams-museum.com/britain/index.htm

Visited: 01/09/2004

The Zaans Museum

Address: Schansend 7, 1509 AW Zaandam

Visiting times: Tuesday-Saturday 10.00-17.00; Sunday 12.00-17.00

Admission charges: € 4.50; groups of more than 15 people € 3.40 pp; children aged 4 to 12 € 2.70; over 65 € 2.70; free entrance children under 4 and on Sunday

URL: http://www.zaansmuseum.nl/

Visited: 31/08/2004

Zuiderzee Museum

Address: Wierdijk 12-22, Postbus 42,1600 AA Enkhuizen

Visiting times: April-October 10.00-17.00

Admission charges: € 9.50; concessions € 5; groups over twenty € 8.50; children aged 4 to 12 € 2.70; over 65 € 7.50; free entrance children under 4 and on Sunday

URL: http://www.zuiderzeemuseum.nl/language/engels/index.htm

Visited: 01/09/2004

The Netherlands Open-Air Museum (*Nederlands Openluchtmuseum)*

Address: Schelmseweg 89, 6816 SJ Arnhem

Visiting times: April-October 10.00-17.00

Admission charges: € 11.50; children aged 4 to 12 € 7.80; over 65 € 11.00; free entrance children under 4

URL: http://www.openluchtmuseum.nl/

Visited: 27/08/2004

UNITED KINGDOM

Blaise Castle House Museum

Address: Henbury Road, Henbury, Bristol, BS10 7QS

Visiting times: Saturday-Wednesday 10.00-17.00

Admission charges: Free entrance

URL: http://www.aboutbritain.com/BlaiseCastleHouseMuseum.htm

Visited: 06/07/2004

The Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum

Address: Singleton, Chichester, W. Sussex PO18 0EU

Visiting times: March-October daily 10.30-18.00; November-February Saturday and Sunday only 10.30-16.00

Admission charges: £7.50; over 60 £6.50; children £4.00; free entrance under 5's

URL: www.wealddown.co.uk

Visited: 03/10/2004

The Ulster Folk and Transport Museum –Folk Museum

Address: 153 Bangor Road, Cultra, Holywood, Co Down, Northern Ireland, BT18 0EU

Visiting times: March-June, Monday-Friday 10.00-17.00, Saturday 10.00-18.00, Sunday 11.00-18.00; July-September, Monday- Saturday 10.00-18.00, Sunday 11.00-18.00; October-February, Monday – Friday 10.00-16.00, Saturday 10.00-17.00, Sunday 11.00-17.00

Admission charges: £5.00; concessions £3.00; children (5yrs-16yrs) £3.00; free entrance under 5's and disabled visitors

URL: www.uftm.org.uk

Visited: 15/03/2004

Ulster American Folk Park

Address: 2 Mellon Road, Castletown Omagh, Co Tyrone, BT78 5QY, Northern Ireland

Visiting times: October-March, Monday-Friday 10.30–17.00; April-September, Monday-Saturday 10.30-18.00, Sunday 11.00-18.30

Admission charges: £4.00; concessions £2.50; free entrance under 5's

URL: http://www.folkpark.com/

Visited: 16/03/2004

Appendix IV

Visitor Survey - Additional Tables

Table IV.1 *Numbers assigned to items of the questionnaire used in statistical tables*

1. Manners and habits of a nation	**22.** Country furniture
2. Traditions and customs of a village community	**23.** City street culture
3. Everyday life of ordinary people in the past	**24.** Markets
4. Everyday life of ordinary people in the present	**25.** Nationalism
5. A past studied by academics	**26.** Cultural identity
6. Something that belongs to museums	**27.** Local identity
7. Dialects	**28.** Pre-industrial times
8. Old traditions	**29.** Birthday celebrations
9. Legends and fairy tales	**30.** Wedding receptions
10. Clothing	**31.** Festive celebrations
11. Embroidery	**32.** Religion
12. Lace	**33.** Marginal to modern times
13. Special dishes	**34.** Old fashioned
14. Traditional cooking utensils	**35.** Picturesque
15. Movies	**36.** Still alive
16. Music and songs	**37.** Dynamic
17. Photographs	**38.** Evolves over time
18. Popular culture of today	**39.** Opinions, beliefs or customs handed down from ancestors to posterity
19. Rural culture of today	**40.** Folk life traditions are handed down orally or by example
20. Rural culture of the past	**41.** Folk life traditions are based on accumulated experience and continuous uses
21. Agricultural tools	

Table IV.2 *Visitors' nationality, N= 551 individuals, missing= 4*

Nationality	Frequency	Percent %	Nationality	Frequency	Percent %
Greece	279	50.6	Japan	3	0.5
USA	48	8.7	China	2	0.4
UK	38	6.9	Hungary	2	0.4
France	21	3.8	Latin America	2	0.4
Australia	20	3.6	Russia	2	0.4
Italy	17	3.1	Shanghai	2	0.4
Spain	17	3.1	South Africa	2	0.4
Germany	14	2.5	Switzerland	2	0.4
Austria	9	1.6	Turkey	2	0.4
Belgium	8	1.5	Croatia	1	0.2
Holland	7	1.3	Egypt	1	0.2
Cyprus	6	1.1	Finland	1	0.2
Romania	6	1.1	Latvia	1	0.2
Canada	5	0.9	Lithuania	1	0.2
Denmark	5	0.9	New Zealand	1	0.2
Hong Kong	4	0.7	Poland	1	0.2
Portugal	4	0.7	Serbia	1	0.2
Sweden	4	0.7	Singapore	1	0.2
Brazil	3	0.5	Vietnam	1	0.2
Ireland	3	0.5			
Missing values				4	0.7
Total				551	100.0

Table IV.3 *Responses to the question 14 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II): "Please write down what the word tradition means to you", N= 551 respondents in each case, missing= 66*

Mentioned	N	%
Way of life	55	11.3
Customs and manners	143	29.5
Transmission of culture/habits/behaviour through generations//something from the past to the present/continuity	348	71.8
Something negative (boring, conservative, etc.)	12	2.5
Something common to a group of people or to a culture	80	16.3
Miscellaneous	131	27.0

Table IV.4 *Cross-tabulations between intangible heritage statements (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
birthday celebrations vs. wedding receptions	214.232	1.6E(-48)	0.624
wedding receptions vs. festive celebrations	180.828	3.2E(-41)	0.573
markets vs. city street culture	108.041	2.6E(-25)	0.443
birthday celebrations vs. markets	100.617	1.1E(-23)	0.427
birthday celebrations vs. festive celebrations	97.390	5.7E(-23)	0.420
dialects vs. special dishes	79.386	5.1E(-19)	0.380
birthday celebrations vs. city street culture	71.118	3.4E(-17)	0.359
wedding receptions vs. markets	69.255	8.7E(-17)	0.355
wedding receptions vs. religion	66.708	3.1E(-16)	0.348
wedding receptions vs. special dishes	65.824	4.9E-16)	0.346
legends and fairy tales vs. special dishes	63.465	1.6E(-15)	0.339
movies vs. city street culture	60.996	5.7E(-15)	0.333
music and songs vs. special dishes	59.803	1E(-14)	0.329
dialects vs. legends and fairy tales	56.154	6.7E(-14)	0.319
special dishes vs. markets	50.765	1E(-12)	0.304
festive celebrations vs. special dishes	49.528	1.9E(-35)	0.300
wedding receptions vs. city street culture	47.498	5.5E(-12)	0.294
legends and fairy tales vs. music and songs	46.669	8.4E(-12)	0.291
festive celebrations vs. markets	43.522	4.2E(-11)	0.281
music and songs vs. festive celebrations	43.286	4.7E(-11)	0.280
birthday celebrations vs. special dishes	43.314	4.7E(-11)	0.280
legends and fairy tales vs. wedding receptions	42.348	7.6E(-11)	0.277
traditions and customs of a village community vs. festive celebrations	39.829	2.8E(-10)	0.269
music and songs vs. wedding receptions	39.793	2.8E(-10)	0.269
religion vs. markets	39.726	2.9E(-10)	0.269
religion vs. special dishes	38.856	4.6E(-10)	0.266
movies vs. markets	38.020	7E(-10)	0.263
legends and fairy tales vs. festive celebrations	37.569	2.8E(-10)	0.261
movies vs. special dishes	36.570	1.5E(-9)	0.258
dialects vs. music and songs	36.509	1.5E(-9)	0.257
traditions and customs of a village community vs. old traditions	33.775	6.2E(-9)	0.248
legends and fairy tales vs. birthday celebrations	32.820	1E9-8)	0.244
music and songs vs. movies	30.787	5.6E(-8)	0.236
special dishes vs. city street culture	30.777	2.9E(-8)	0.236
traditions and customs of a village community vs. birthday celebrations	30.125	4E(-8)	0.234
legends and fairy tales vs. markets	27.054	2E(-7)	0.222
religion vs. city street culture	25.939	3.5E(-7)	0.217
traditions and customs of a village community vs. markets	25.766	3.8E(-7)	0.216

Table IV.4 *Cross-tabulations between intangible heritage statements (continued)*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
old traditions vs. festive celebrations	23.428	1.3E(-6)	0.206
dialects vs. markets	22.614	2E(-6)	0.203
traditions and customs of a village community vs. music and songs	21.721	3.2E(-6)	0.199
traditions and customs of a village community vs. wedding receptions	21.858	2.9E(-6)	0.199
old traditions vs. legends and fairy tales	21.582	3.4E(-6)	0.198
traditions and customs of a village community vs. special dishes	19.361	1E(-5)	0.187
music and songs vs. markets	19.172	1.2E(-5)	0.187
old traditions vs. music and songs	18.281	1.9E(-5)	0.182
manners and habits vs. dialects	18.034	0.001	0.181
dialects vs. old traditions	17.553	2.8E(-5)	0.178
old traditions vs. special dishes	17.359	3.1E(-5)	0.177
old traditions vs. religion	16.462	4.5E(-5)	0.173
traditions and customs of a village community vs. legends and fairy tales	16.307	5.4E(-5)	0.172
legends and fairy tales vs. religion	15.893	6.7E(-5)	0.170
legends and fairy tales vs. city street culture	13.844	2E(-4)	0.159
traditions and customs of a village community vs. city street culture	13.348	2E(-4)	0.156
manners and habits vs. special dishes	12.481	4E(-4)	0.151
manners and habits vs. music and songs	12.461	4E(-4)	0.150
music and songs vs. city street culture	12.368	4E(-4)	0.150
traditions and customs of a village community vs. dialects	11.881	0.001	0.147
old traditions vs. birthday celebrations	11.196	0.001	0.143
manners and habits vs. legends and fairy tales	10.870	0.001	0.140
old traditions vs. wedding receptions	10.461	0.001	0.138
dialects vs. city street culture	10.406	0.001	0.137
traditions and customs of a village community vs. religion	10.108	0.001	0.135
traditions and customs of a village community vs. movies	9.145	0.002	0.129
manners and habits vs. old traditions	9.240	0.002	0.129
traditions and customs of a village community vs. manners and habits	8.047	0.005	0.121
manners and habits vs. movies	7.743	0.005	0.119
manners and habits vs. festive celebrations	4.629	0.031	0.092
manners and habits vs. religion	4.041	0.044	0.086
old traditions vs. markets	3.906	0.048	0.084
manners and habits vs. city street culture	3.174	0.075	0.076
manners and habits vs. birthday celebrations	0.711	0.399	0.036
manners and habits vs. wedding receptions	0.646	0.421	0.034
manners and habits vs. markets	0.259	0.611	0.022
old traditions vs. city street culture	0.040	0.841	0.009

Table IV.5 *Cross-tabulations between intangible and tangible heritage statements (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

	clothing			embroidery			Lace			Cooking utensils			photographs			Agricultural tools			Country furniture		
	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	p	V
Manners/ habits	9.76	0.002	0.13	19.95	8E(-6)	0.19	29.02	7.2E(-8)	0.23	7.94	0.005	0.12	13.59	2E(-4)	0.16	10.56	0.001	0.14	11.66	0.001	0.14
Traditions/ customs	18.33	1.9E(-5)	0.18	13.70	0.0002	0.16	23.17	1.5E(-6)	0.20	42.89	5.8E(-11)	0.28	13.85	2E(-4)	0.16	30.92	2.7E(-8)	0.24	12.29	3E(-15)	0.34
Dialects	19.82	8.5E(-6)	0.19	33.18	8.4E(-9)	0.24	41.05	1.5E(-10)	0.27	25.03	5.6E(-7)	0.21	8.37	0.004	0.12	20.72	5.3E(-6)	0.19	24.26	8.4E(-7)	0.25
Old traditions	34.59	4E(-9)	0.25	16.81	4.1E(-5)	0.17	22.57	2E(-6)	0.20	16.52	4.8E(-5)	0.17	5.52	0.019	0.10	12.45	4E(-4)	0.15	21.87	2.9E(-6)	0.20
Legends/ fairy tales	8.24	0.004	0.12	33.86	5.9E(-9)	0.25	39.37	3.5E(-10)	0.27	31.00	2.6E(-8)	0.24	25.20	5.2E(-7)	0.21	2160	3.4E(-6)	0.20	33.63	6.7E(-9)	0.25
Special dishes	43.60	4E(-11)	0.28	56.82	4.8E(-14)	0.32	86.39	1.5E(-20)	0.40	87.33	9.2E(-21)	0.40	20.02	7.7E(-6)	0.19	30.80	2.8E(-8)	0.24	69.48	7.7E(17)	0.35
Movies	6.90	0.009	0.11	4.30	0.038	0.09	11.78	0.001	0.15	16.38	5.2E(-5)	0.17	46.34	10E(-12)	0.29	9.67	0.002	0.13	16.29	5.4E(-5)	0.17
Music/ songs	28.96	7.4E(-8)	0.23	32.65	1.1E(-8)	0.24	44.22	3E(-11)	0.28	33.19	8.3E(-9)	0.24	17.09	3.5E(-5)	0.18	29.10	6.9E(-8)	0.23	30.51	3.3E(-8)	0.23
City street culture	8.79	0.003	0.13	6.61	0.010	0.11	14.21	1E(-4)	0.16	12.64	3.7E(-4)	0.15	41.01	1.5E(-10)	0.27	13.28	2.7E(-4)	0.15	33.07	8.9E(-9)	0.24
Markets	5.56	0.018	0.10	15.04	1E(-4)	0.16	23.32	1.4E(-6)	0.21	26.17	3.1E(-7)	0.22	41.50	1.2E(-10)	0.27	46.57	9E(-12)	0.29	45.86	1.3E(-11)	0.29
Birthday celebrations	16.83	4.1E(-5)	0.17	19.28	1.1E(-5)	0.18	31.04	2.5E(-8)	0.24	36.55	1.5E(-9)	0.26	19.13	1.2E(-5)	0.19	18.11	2.1E(-5)	0.18	45.41	1.6E(-11)	0.29
Wedding receptions	27.57	1.5E(-7)	0.22	26.66	2.4E(-7)	0.22	35.55	2.5E(-9)	0.25	44.43	2.6E(-11)	0.28	26.99	2E(-7)	0.22	27.856	1.3E(-7)	0.22	59.55	1.2E(-14)	0.33
Festive celebrations	62.60	2.5E(-15)	0.34	56.99	4.4E(-14)	0.32	58.55	2E(-14)	0.33	51.67	6.6E(-13)	0.31	28.44	9.7E(-8)	0.23	31.715	1.8E(-8)	0.24	76.42	2.3E(-18)	0.37
Religion	28.24	1E(-7)	0.23	3.64	0.056	0.08	6.49	0.011	0.11	17.90	2.3E(-5)	0.18	23.93	10E(-7)	0.21	18.400	1.8E(-5)	0.18	21.06	4.4E(-6)	0.20

Table IV.6 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 tests for "cultural identity" (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

cultural identity vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
local identity	155.784	9.4E(-36)	0.532
pre-industrial times	51.051	9E(-13)	0.304
festive celebrations	46.349	9.9E(-12)	0.290
markets	42.424	7.4E(-11)	0.277
religion	42.060	8.9E(-11)	0.276
rural culture of today	40.671	1.8E(-10)	0.272
rural culture of the past	34.763	3.7E(-9)	0.251
everyday life in the present	33.450	7.3E(-9)	0.246
city street culture	32.188	1.4E(-8)	0.242
wedding receptions	30.527	3.3E(-8)	0.235
birthday celebrations	29.632	5.2E(-8)	0.232
movies	29.465	5.7E(-8)	0.231
popular culture	28.152	1.1E(-7)	0.226
legends and fairy tales	26.011	3.4E(-7)	0.217
nationalism	24.454	7.6E(-7)	0.211
dialects	22.760	1.8E(-6)	0.203
country furniture	21.048	4.5E(-6)	0.195
lace	20.280	6.7E(-6)	0.192
photographs	19.827	8.5E(-6)	0.190
agricultural tools	18.423	1.8E(-5)	0.183
traditional cooking utensils	18.324	1.9E(-5)	0.182
special dishes	15.726	7.3E(-5)	0.169
embroidery	15.382	8.8E(-5)	0.167
manners and habits of a nation	13.917	0.0002	0.159
traditions and customs of a village community	11.956	0.001	0.147
a past studied by academics	11.037	0.001	0.142
old traditions	10.915	0.001	0.141
something that belongs to museums	10.497	0.001	0.138
everyday life in the past	10.214	0.001	0.136
music and songs	7.674	0.006	0.118
clothing	6.038	0.014	0.105

Table IV.7 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 tests for "popular culture" (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

popular culture vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
rural culture of today	261.608	7.6E(-59)	0.690
everyday life in the present	168.337	1.7E(-38)	0.553
city street culture	110.904	6.2E(-26)	0.449
movies	71.538	2.7E(-17)	0.361
markets	59.928	9.8E(-15)	0.330
birthday celebrations	43.550	4.1E(-11)	0.281
pre-industrial times	33.187	8.4E(-9)	0.246
photographs	32.333	1.3E(-8)	0.242
cultural identity	28.152	1.1E(-7)	0.226
wedding receptions	22.043	2.7E(-6)	0.200
religion	20.345	6.5E(-6)	0.192
local identity	19.490	1E(-5)	0.188
something that belongs to museums	17.930	2.3E(-5)	0.181
festive celebrations	16.585	4.6E(-5)	0.174
a past studied by academics	16.292	5.4E(-5)	0.172
nationalism	14.355	1.5E(-4)	0.162
special dishes	14.178	2E(-4)	0.161
agricultural tools	11.972	0.001	0.148
music and songs	11.196	0.001	0.143
dialects	11.161	0.001	0.142
country furniture	10.897	0.001	0.141
rural culture of the past	10.202	0.001	0.136
everyday life in the past	9.694	0.002	0.133
manners and habits of a nation	6.575	0.010	0.109
traditions and customs of a village community	5.220	0.022	0.097
traditional cooking utensils	4.972	0.026	0.095
legends and fairy tales	4.752	0.029	0.093
clothing	3.164	0.075	0.076
embroidery	2.009	0.156	0.060
lace	1.969	0.161	0.060
old traditions	0.397	0.529	0.027

Table IV.8 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 tests for "nationalism" (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

nationalism vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
pre-industrial times	43.166	5E(-11)	0.280
a past studied by academics	38.578	5.3E(-10)	0.265
markets	38.794	4.7E(-10)	0.265
something that belongs to museums	35.240	2.9E(-9)	0.253
city street culture	27.743	1.4E(-7)	0.224
cultural identity	24.454	7.6E(-7)	0.211
religion	21.026	4.5E(-6)	0.195
movies	17.861	2.4E(-5)	0.180
photographs	15.654	7.6E(-5)	0.169
popular culture	14.355	1.5E(-4)	0.162
rural culture of today	13.757	2E(-4)	0.158
birthday celebrations	12.758	3.5E(-4)	0.152
country furniture	12.544	4E(-4)	0.151
local identity	12.043	0.001	0.148
special dishes	10.431	0.001	0.138
festive celebrations	10.363	0.001	0.137
wedding receptions	9.913	0.002	0.134
dialects	8.714	0.003	0.126
agricultural tools	7.810	0.005	0.119
manners and habits of a nation	7.055	0.008	0.113
legends and fairy tales	6.925	0.008	0.112
everyday life in the present	5.957	0.015	0.104
old traditions	4.614	0.032	0.092
traditional cooking utensils	4.498	0.034	0.090
lace	3.971	0.046	0.085
rural culture of the past	3.409	0.065	0.079
clothing	3.251	0.071	0.077
traditions and customs of a village community	2.852	0.091	0.072
music and songs	0.733	0.392	0.036
everyday life in the past	0.397	0.529	0.027
embroidery	0.271	0.602	0.022

Table IV.9 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 tests for "something that belongs to museums" (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

something that belongs to museums vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
a past studied by academics	137.423	9.7E(-32)	0.499
pre-industrial times	58.185	2.4E(-14)	0.325
nationalism	35.240	2.9E(-9)	0.253
markets	26.353	2.8E(-7)	0.219
photographs	24.188	8.7E(-7)	0.210
birthday celebrations	23.844	1E(-6)	0.208
dialects	22.573	2E(-6)	0.202
movies	22.133	2.5E(-6)	0.200
traditions and customs of a village community	21.777	3E(-6)	0.199
rural culture of today	18.044	2.2E(-5)	0.181
popular culture	17.930	2.3E(-5)	0.181
city street culture	16.381	5.2E(-5)	0.172
special dishes	15.928	6.6E(-5)	0.170
manners and habits of a nation	15.132	1E(-4)	0.166
rural culture of the past	12.155	5E(-4)	0.149
lace	11.065	0.001	0.142
wedding receptions	10.875	0.001	0.140
cultural identity	10.497	0.001	0.138
old traditions	10.448	0.001	0.138
local identity	10.355	0.001	0.137
festive celebrations	9.381	0.002	0.130
traditional cooking utensils	8.140	0.004	0.122
agricultural tools	8.054	0.005	0.121
embroidery	8.032	0.005	0.121
country furniture	7.072	0.008	0.113
religion	6.818	0.009	0.111
music and songs	4.622	0.032	0.092
legends and fairy tales	4.536	0.033	0.091
everyday life in the past	3.212	0.073	0.076
everyday life in the present	2.959	0.085	0.073
clothing	2.644	0.104	0.069

Table IV.10 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 tests for "a past studied by academics" (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

a past studied by academics vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
something that belongs to museums	137.423	9.7E(-32)	0.499
pre-industrial times	67.347	2.3E(-16)	0.350
nationalism	38.578	5.2E(-10)	0.265
city street culture	28.765	8.2E(-8)	0.228
photographs	28.756	8.2E(-8)	0.228
markets	23.374	1.3E(-6)	0.206
dialects	19.936	8E(-6)	0.190
rural culture of today	17.993	2.2E(-5)	0.181
traditions and customs of a village community	17.864	2.4E(-5)	0.180
popular culture	16.292	5.4E(-5)	0.172
wedding receptions	15.977	6.4E(-5)	0.170
special dishes	15.563	8E(-5)	0.168
movies	14.745	1E(-4)	0.164
birthday celebrations	13.122	3E(-4)	0.154
country furniture	12.811	3E(-4)	0.152
rural culture of the past	12.134	5E(-4)	0.148
lace	11.497	0.001	0.144
old traditions	11.403	0.001	0.144
cultural identity	11.037	0.001	0.142
traditional cooking utensils	10.648	0.001	0.139
embroidery	9.957	0.002	0.134
manners and habits of a nation	9.346	0.002	0.130
agricultural tools	9.171	0.002	0.129
religion	8.740	0.003	0.126
local identity	7.994	0.005	0.120
festive celebrations	8.280	0.004	0.123
legends and fairy tales	6.340	0.012	0.107
music and songs	4.849	0.028	0.094
everyday life in the present	4.645	0.031	0.092
everyday life in the past	4.209	0.040	0.087
clothing	1.989	0.158	0.060

Table IV.11 *Categorised responses to the open-ended question 2 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II) "What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?" with reference to responses to tangible and intangible heritage, N= 551 respondents in each case*

Reply	N	%
Objects	253	51.0
Clothing and other body accessories	219	44.2
Way of life (daily life, customs, occupation, etc.	209	42.1
Furniture	97	19.6
Art and ephemera	97	19.6
Past life	88	17.7
Tradition	75	15.1
Traditional entertainment	58	11.7
Way of life of a community group (family, nation)	58	11.7
Life in a specific region	57	11.5
Response related to display method	55	11.1
Rituals	36	7.0
Ordinary people	20	4.0
Oral communicative forms	18	3.6
Comparison between past and present	14	2.8
Rural	9	1.8

Table IV.12 *Responses to the open-ended question 12 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II) "Could you try to make a definition of the term folk life", N= 551 respondents in each case, missing= 76 (13.8%)*

Word/phrase mentioned	N	%
Way of life	321	58.3
Past	183	33.2
Any kind of group (community, nation, people)	168	30.5
Academic discipline	130	23.6
Manners and customs	118	21.4
Tradition/s	93	16.9
Ordinary person	71	12.9
Material culture – any kind	58	10.5
Culture	54	9.8
Present	49	8.9
Regional	39	7.1
History	29	5.3
Any kind of entertainment	26	4.7
Rural	20	3.6
Feelings and thoughts	18	3.3
Any rituals	18	3.3
Art	17	3.1
Popular culture	3	0.5
I don't know	1	0.2
Mentioned widely diverse topics	153	27.7

Table IV.13 *Cross-tabulations between material culture statements (Source: Q 3 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
embroidery vs. lace	299.960	3.3E(-67)	0.738
agricultural tools vs. country furniture	210.756	9.4E(-48)	0.618
traditional cooking utensils vs. country furniture	142.935	6.1E(-33)	0.509
lace vs. traditional cooking utensils	135.748	2.3(-31)	0.496
embroidery vs. traditional cooking utensils	117.627	2.1E(-27)	0.462
lace vs. country furniture	111.104	5.6E(-26)	0.449
traditional cooking utensils vs. agricultural tools	110.468	7.7E(-26)	0.448
clothing vs. embroidery	103.645	2.4E(-24)	0.434
embroidery vs. country furniture	92.060	8.4E(-22)	0.409
clothing vs. country furniture	81.934	1.4E(-19)	0.386
clothing vs. traditional cooking utensils	78.634	7.4E(-19)	0.378
clothing vs. lace	77.995	1E(-18)	0.376
embroidery vs. agricultural tools	67.829	1.8E(-16)	0.351
lace vs. agricultural tools	66.983	2.7E(-16)	0.349
clothing vs. agricultural tools	46.262	1E(-11)	0.290
Photographs vs. country furniture	43.036	5.4E(-11)	0.279
agricultural tools vs. photographs	37.384	9.7E(-10)	0.260
lace vs. photographs	20.304	6.6E(-6)	0.192
traditional cooking utensils vs. photographs	17.091	5.7E(-5)	0.176
embroidery vs. photographs	15.497	8.3E(-5)	0.168
clothing vs. photographs	7.011	0.008	0.113

Table IV.14 *Statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation and words mentioned in the open-ended question 13 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II): "Please write down what the word tradition means to you". Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded, N= 551 respondents*

Age vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
manners and customs	2	13.427	0.001	0.166
Nationality vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
manners and customs	2	13.184	0.001	0.165

Table IV.15 *Statistical significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation and words mentioned in the open-ended question 13 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II): "Could you try to make a definition of the term folk life". Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded, N= 551 respondents*

Age	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Tradition/s	2	17.051	2E(-4)	0.189
Art	2	15.053	0.001	0.178
Discipline/academic/recording	2	8.898	0.012	0.137
Feelings and thoughts	2	8.845	0.012	0.136
Manners and customs	2	8.820	0.012	0.132
Ordinary person	2	6.083	0.048	0.113
Education	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Way of life	1	9.492	0.002	0.142
History	1	8.774	0.003	0.136
Culture	1	4.702	0.030	0.100
Nationality	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Discipline/academic/recording	2	116.962	4E(-26)	0.497
Manners and customs	2	42.459	6E(-10)	0.300
Way of life	2	19.013	7.4E(-5)	0.200
A people/a nation/ a community/a group/class	2	16.419	3E(-4)	0.186
Ordinary person	2	14.934	0.001	0.178
Rural	2	11.575	0.003	0.156
Occupation	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Art	5	20.575	0.001	0.208

Table IV.16 *Responses to the open-ended question 4 of the questionnaire (see Appendix II): "Any other suggestions?" with respect to folk life, N= 551 respondents in each case*

Word/phrase mentioned	**N**	**%**
None	452	82.0
Other	35	6.4
Exhibition design related replies	17	3.1
Thoughts of people/oral history	11	2.0
Art/Craft/Architecture/Literature	11	2.0
Social classes/various folk groups	11	2.0
Private life/Health care	10	1.8
Daily life related response (e.g. traffic)	9	1.6
Children life/school life/toys	7	1.3
Relations between past and present	7	1.3
Relation to other cultures	6	1.1
Occupation/working tools	5	0.9

Table IV.17 *Statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation and attitudes towards folk life. Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded (Source: Q 5 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), for DF= 10 and* $p \leq 0.05$, $\chi^2 \geq 18.307$, *N= 551 respondents*

Age	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Folk life is picturesque	4	10.721	0.030	0.100
Folk life is alive	4	10.601	0.031	0.099
Folk life is dynamic	4	11.416	0.022	0.103
Folk life evolves over time	4	19.370	0.001	0.135
Folk life is opinions, beliefs or customs handed down from ancestors to posterity	4	16.704	0.002	0.124
Folk life traditions are handed down orally or by example	4	19.435	0.001	0.135
Folk life traditions are based on accumulated experience and continuous uses	4	10.233	0.037	0.097
Gender	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Folk life is old fashioned	2	6.936	0.031	0.114
Folk life is picturesque	2	6.959	0.031	0.114
Nationality	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Folk life is picturesque	4	89.164	2E(-18)	0.290
Folk life is alive	4	22.626	1.5E(-4)	0.145
Folk life is dynamic	4	25.378	4.2E(-5)	0.155
Folk life evolves over time	4	13.440	0.009	0.113
Folk life is opinions, beliefs or customs handed down from ancestors to posterity	4	18.517	0.001	0.131
Folk life traditions are handed down orally or by example	4	36.375	2.4E(-7)	0.185
Folk life traditions are based on accumulated experience and continuous uses	4	10.066	0.039	0.096
Education	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Folk life is picturesque	2	9.527	0.009	0.134
Occupation	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Folk life is dynamic	10	18.938	0.004	0.133

Table IV.18 *Chi-squared tests for the relationship between social history and folk life (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents, DF= 4*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life vs. Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	61.030	1.8E(-12)	0.239
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life vs. Folk life is more informal than social history	85.453	1.2E(-17)	0.283
Social history suggests something more academic than folk life vs. Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	39.461	5.6E(-8)	0.192
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things vs. Folk life is more informal than social history	53.420	7E(-11)	0.224
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things vs. Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	53.081	8.2E(-11)	0.223
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things vs. Objects have limited value for social historians	21.198	2E(-4)	0.141
Folk life is more informal than social history vs. Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	50.325	3.1E(-10)	0.217

Table IV.19 *Statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, nationality and occupation and relationship between folk life and social history (Source: Q 9 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded, N= 551 respondents*

Age	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history includes folk life	4	14.089	0.007	0.114
Social history and folk life complement one the other	4	17.413	0.002	0.128
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	4	10.823	0.029	0.101
Objects have limited value for social historians	4	11.193	0.024	0.102
Education	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	2	18.621	9E(-5)	0.187
Folk life is more informal than social history	2	9.847	0.007	0.136
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	2	21.731	1.9E(-5)	0.202
Objects have limited value for social historians	2	9.384	0.009	0.132
Nationality	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Social history includes folk life	4	19.653	0.001	0.135
Social history and folk life complement one the other	4	11.303	0.023	0.103
Folk life and social history are indistinguishable	4	22.273	2E(-4)	0.145
Social history is all about theories and folk life is all about real things	4	16.024	0.003	0.123
Folk life is more informal than social history	4	50.413	3E(-10)	0.217
Folk life does not need academic readings and research but social history does	4	28.054	1.2E(-5)	0.162
Objects have limited value for social historians		22.294	2E(-4)	0.144

Table IV.20 *Statistically significant results for cross-tabulations between variables of age, gender, education, occupation and nationality and interpretative methods for folk life and social history displays (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II). Variables are not stated when no significant results were recorded, N= 551 respondents*

Age	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Slide shows	4	12.511	0.014	0.108
More context to the objects on display	4	10.197	0.037	0.097
Gender	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Actors in everyday activities	2	8.809	0.012	0.129
More context to the objects on display	2	10.278	0.006	0.138
Occupation	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Drama people in everyday activities	10	20.872	0.022	0.140
More context to the objects on display	10	27.076	0.003	0.158
Education	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Taped stories	2	7.321	0.026	0.117
Other audio material	2	18.165	1.1E(-4)	0.184
Drama people in everyday activities	2	19.328	6.4E(-5)	0.192
Computer interaction and exhibits	2	9.994	0.007	0.137
Nationality	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
Sound and moving images of things being used	4	23.578	9.7E(-5)	0.148
Other audio material	4	12.844	0.012	0.110
Taped stories	4	14.989	0.005	0.118
More context to the objects on display	4	14.434	0.006	0.116
Slide shows	4	35.191	4.3E(-7)	0.182
Computer interaction and exhibits	4	14.926	0.005	0.119
Drama people in everyday activities	4	15.654	0.004	0.122

Table IV.21 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to age (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses*

			Age of Respondent			
			15-34	35-54	55+	Total
Slide shows	**Agree**	Count	177	164	53	394
		% within Age	68.9%	80.0%	72.6%	73.6%
		% of Total	33.1%	30.7%	9.9%	73.6%
	Neutral	Count	60	35	19	114
		% within Age	23.3%	17.1%	26.0%	21.3%
		% of Total	11.2%	6.5%	3.6%	21.3%
	Disagree	Count	20	6	1	27
		% within Age	7.8%	2.9%	1.4%	5.0%
		% of Total	3.7%	1.1%	0.2%	5.0%
Total		Count	257	205	73	535
		% of Total	48.0%	38.3%	13.6%	100.0%
More context to the objects on display	**Agree**	Count	181	170	53	404
		% within Age	69.9%	81.7%	71.6%	74.7%
		% of Total	33.5%	31.4%	9.8%	74.7%
	Neutral	Count	63	28	18	109
		% within Age	24.3%	13.5%	24.3%	20.1%
		% of Total	11.6%	5.2%	3.3%	20.1%
	Disagree	Count	15	10	3	28
		% within Age	5.8%	4.8%	4.1%	5.2%
		% of Total	2.8%	1.8%	0.6%	5.2%
Total		Count	259	208	74	541
		% of Total	47.9%	38.4%	13.7%	100.0%

Table IV.22 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to gender (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses*

			Gender		
			Male	Female	Total
Actors in everyday activities	**Agree**	Count	124	194	318
		% within Gender	53.7%	64.9%	60.0%
		% of Total	23.4%	36.6%	60.0%
	Neutral	Count	75	64	139
		% within Gender	32.5%	21.4%	26.2%
		% of Total	14.2%	12.1%	26.2%
	Disagree	Count	32	41	73
		% within Gender	13.9%	13.7%	13.8%
		% of Total	6.0%	7.7%	13.8%
Total		Count	231	299	530
		% of Total	43.6%	56.4%	100.0%
More context to the objects on display	**Agree**	Count	179	226	405
		% within Gender	76.5%	73.4%	74.7%
		% of Total	33.0%	41.7%	74.7%
	Neutral	Count	51	58	109
		% within Gender	21.8%	18.8%	20.1%
		% of Total	9.4%	10.7%	20.1%
	Disagree	Count	4	24	28
		% within Gender	1.7%	7.8%	5.2%
		% of Total	0.7%	4.4%	5.2%
Total		Count	234	308	542
		% of Total	43.2%	56.8%	100.0%

Table IV.23 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to education (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses*

			Education		
			University	**Other**	Total
	Agree	Count	288	136	424
		% within Education	81.4%	74.3%	79.0%
		% of Total	53.6%	25.3%	79.0%
Taped stories	**Neutral**	Count	57	34	91
		% within Education	16.1%	18.6%	16.9%
		% of Total	10.6%	6.3%	16.9%
	Disagree	Count	9	13	22
		% within Education	2.5%	7.1%	4.1%
		% of Total	1.7%	2.4%	4.1%
Total		Count	354	183	537
		% of Total	65.9%	34.1%	100.0%
	Agree	Count	300	136	436
		% within Education	85.2%	74.7%	81.6%
		% of Total	56.2%	25.5%	81.6%
Other audio material	**Neutral**	Count	48	32	80
		% within Education	13.6%	17.6%	15.0%
		% of Total	9.0%	6.0%	15.0%
	Disagree	Count	4	14	18
		% within Education	1.1%	7.7%	3.4%
		% of Total	0.7%	2.6%	3.4%
Total		Count	352	182	534
		% of Total	65.9%	34.1%	100.0%
	Agree	Count	227	91	318
		% within Education	65.8%	50.3%	60.5%
		% of Total	43.2%	17.3%	60.5%
Actors in everyday activities	**Neutral**	Count	86	50	136
		% within Education	24.9%	27.6%	25.9%
		% of Total	16.3%	9.5%	25.9%
	Disagree	Count	32	40	72
		% within Education	9.3%	22.1%	13.7%
		% of Total	6.1%	7.6%	13.7%
Total		Count	345	181	526
		% of Total	65.6%	34.4%	100.0%
	Agree	Count	251	108	359
		% within Education	71.3%	60.7%	67.7%
		% of Total	47.4%	20.4%	67.7%
Computer interaction and exhibits	**Neutral**	Count	77	44	121
		% within Education	21.9%	24.7%	22.8%
		% of Total	14.5%	8.3%	22.8%
	Disagree	Count	24	26	50
		% within Education	6.8%	14.6%	9.4%
		% of Total	4.5%	4.9%	9.4%
Total		Count	352	178	530
		% of Total	66.4%	33.6%	100.0%

Table IV.24 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to nationality (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses*

			Nationality			
			Greece	**Europe**	**Other**	Total
Sound and moving images of things being used	**Agree**	Count	265	142	77	484
		% within Nationality	95.3%	84.0%	85.6%	90.1%
		% of Total	49.3%	26.4%	14.3%	90.1%
	Neutral	Count	6	23	11	40
		% within Nationality	2.2%	13.6%	12.2%	7.4%
		% of Total	1.1%	4.3%	2.0%	7.4%
	Disagree	Count	7	4	2	13
		% within Nationality	2.5%	2.4%	2.2%	2.4%
		% of Total	1.3%	0.7%	0.4%	2.4%
Total		Count	278	169	90	537
		% of Total	51.8%	31.5%	16.8%	100.0%
Other audio material	**Agree**	Count	236	126	73	435
		% within Nationality	85.8%	75.0%	80.2%	81.5%
		% of Total	44.2%	23.6%	13.7%	81.5%
	Neutral	Count	28	36	17	81
		% within Nationality	10.2%	21.4%	18.7%	15.2%
		% of Total	5.2%	6.7%	3.2%	15.2%
	Disagree	Count	11	6	1	18
		% within Nationality	4.0%	3.6%	1.1%	3.4%
		% of Total	2.1%	1.1%	0.2%	3.4%
Total		Count	275	168	91	534
		% of Total	51.5%	31.5%	17%	100.0%
Taped stories	**Agree**	Count	51.5%	31.5%	17.0%	100.0%
		% within Nationality	83.4%	71.6%	79.1%	79.0%
		% of Total	43.0%	22.5%	13.4%	79.0%
	Neutral	Count	32	41	18	91
		% within Nationality	11.6%	24.3%	19.8%	16.9%
		% of Total	6.0%	7.6%	3.4%	16.9%
	Disagree	Count	14	7	1	22
		% within Nationality	5.1%	4.1%	1.1%	4.1%
		% of Total	2.6%	1.3%	0.2%	4.1%
Total		Count	277	169	91	537
		% of Total	51.6%	31.5%	16.9%	100.0%
More context to the objects on display	**Agree**	Count	214	117	72	403
		% within Nationality	77.0%	68.8%	80.0%	74.9%
		% of Total	39.8%	21.7%	13.4%	74.9%
	Neutral	Count	44	48	15	107
		% within Nationality	15.8%	28.2%	16.7%	19.9%
		% of Total	8.2%	8.9%	2.8%	19.9%
	Disagree	Count	20	5	3	28
		% within Nationality	7.2%	2.9%	3.3%	5.2%
		% of Total	3.7%	0.9%	0.6%	5.2%
Total		Count	278	170	90	538
		% of Total	51.7%	31.6%	16.7%	100.0%

Table IV.24 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to nationality (continued)*

			Nationality			
			Greece	**Europe**	**Other**	Total
Slide shows	**Agree**	Count	225	99	69	393
		% within	82.1%	58.6%	77.5%	73.9%
		% of Total	42.3%	18.6%	13.0%	73.9%
	Neutral	Count	35	58	19	112
		% within	12.8%	34.3%	21.3%	21.1%
		% of Total	6.6%	10.9%	3.6%	21.1%
	Disagree	Count	14	12	1	27
		% within	5.1%	7.1%	1.1%	5.1%
		% of Total	2.6%	2.3%	0.2%	5.1%
Total		Count	274	169	89	532
		% of Total	51.5%	31.8%	16.7%	100.0%
Computer interaction and exhibits	**Agree**	Count	198	110	51	359
		% within	72.8%	65.1%	57.3%	67.7%
		% of Total	37.4%	20.8%	9.6%	67.7%
	Neutral	Count	45	45	31	121
		% within	16.5%	26.6%	34.8%	22.8%
		% of Total	8.5%	8.5%	5.8%	22.8%
	Disagree	Count	29	14	7	50
		% within	10.7%	8.3%	7.9%	9.4%
		% of Total	5.5%	2.6%	1.3%	9.4%
Total		Count	272	169	89	530
		% of Total	51.3%	31.9%	16.8%	100.0%
Actors in everyday activities	**Agree**	Count	163	92	62	317
		% within	59.7%	55.4%	71.3%	60.3%
		% of Total	31.0%	17.5%	11.8%	60.3%
	Neutral	Count	61	56	19	136
		% within	22.3%	33.7%	21.8%	25.9%
		% of Total	11.6%	10.6%	3.6%	25.9%
	Disagree	Count	49	18	6	73
		% within	17.9%	10.8%	6.9%	13.9%
		% of Total	9.3%	3.4%	1.1%	13.9%
Total		Count	273	166	87	526
		% of Total	51.9%	31.6%	16.5%	100.0%

Table IV.25 *Favoured interpretative methods with reference to occupation (Source: Q 10 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= number of responses*

			Work categories					
			Retired	**Student**	**Unem-ployed**	**Part-time**	**Full-time**	**Other**
Drama people in everyday activities would improve folk life and social history displays	**Agree**	Count	30	45	12	35	193	3
		% within Work	63.8%	46.9%	54.5%	66.0%	62.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	5.7%	8.5%	2.3%	6.6%	36.5%	0.6%
	Neutral	Count	7	30	5	13	84	0
		% within Work	14.9%	31.3%	22.7%	24.5%	27.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	1.3%	5.7%	0.9%	2.5%	15.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	10	21	5	5	31	0
		% within Work	21.3%	21.9%	22.7%	9.4%	10.1%	0.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	4.0%	0.9%	0.9%	5.9%	0.0%
Total		Count	47	96	22	53	308	3
		% of Total	8.9%	18.1%	4.2%	10.0%	58.2%	0.6%
More context to the objects on display would improve folk life and social history displays	**Agree**	Count	36	69	13	36	247	3
		% within Work	72.0%	71.9%	59.1%	67.9%	77.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	6.7%	12.8%	2.4%	6.7%	45.7%	0.6%
	Neutral	Count	14	24	7	8	56	0
		% within Work	28.0%	25.0%	31.8%	15.1%	17.7%	0.0%
		% of Total	2.6%	4.4%	1.3%	1.5%	10.4%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	3	2	9	14	0
		% within Work	0.0%	3.1%	9.1%	17.0%	4.4%	0.0%
		% of Total	0.0%	0.6%	0.4%	1.7%	2.6%	0.0%
Total		Count	50	96	22	53	317	3
		% of Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0%
			9.2%	17.7%	4.1%	9.8%	58.6%	0.6%

Table IV.26 *Chi-squared statistics for conceptions about the past with regards to nationality (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), N= 551 respondents*

Nationality vs.	**DF**	χ^2	**p**	**V**
The past is important to everyone	4	26.165	2.9E(-5)	0.155
It is worth knowing about the past	4	26.355	2.7E(-5)	0.156
People worked harder in the past	4	11.481	0.022	0.103
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	4	53.718	6E(-11)	0.223
There were better values in the past	4	27.083	1.9E(-5)	0.159
Life was more peaceful in the past	4	16.258	0.003	0.123
Life was better in the past	4	30.564	3.8E(-6)	0.168
There was no unemployment in the past	4	23.027	1.2E(-4)	0.146

Table IV.27 *Conceptions about the past with regards to age. Statistically significant results only (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), total N = 551 respondents, missing= 1*

Statement	15-34		35-64		65+	
	N= 261 in each case	%	N= 211 in each case	%	N= 78 in each case	%
Life was very difficult in the past	124	47.7	127	60.8	56	73.7
People worked harder in the past	140	53.8	129	61.7	59	76.6
There were better values in the past	87	33.6	63	30.7	39	50.6
Life was more peaceful in the past	37	14.3	32	15.3	19	25.3
There was no unemployment in the past	27	10.4	16	7.7	4	5.3

Table IV.27a *Chi-squared statistics for conceptions about the past with regards to age (see Table above)*

Age vs.	DF	χ^2	p	V
Life was very difficult in the past	4	21.166	3E(-4)	0.139
People worked harder in the past	4	19.018	0.001	0.132
There were better values in the past	4	14.999	0.005	0.118
Life was more peaceful in the past	4	10.148	0.038	0.097
There was no unemployment in the past	4	20.062	5E(-4)	0.136

Table IV.28 *Conceptions about the past with regards to educational level. Statistically significant results only (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), total N = 551 respondents, missing= 4*

Statement	University Degree		Other	
	N= 362 in each case	%	N= 185 in each case	%
It is worth knowing about the past	323	90.7	175	95.6
People worked harder in the past	197	54.7	128	69.9
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	144	40.2	100	54.6
There were better values in the past	92	25.9	96	52.5
Life was more peaceful in the past	42	11.7	45	24.7
Life was better in the past	16	4.5	31	17.1
There was no unemployment in the past	23	6.4	24	13.3

Table IV.28a *Chi-squared statistics for conceptions about the past with regards to educational level (see Table above)*

Education vs.	DF	χ^2	p	V
It is worth knowing about the past	2	6.678	0.035	0.111
People worked harder in the past	2	11.817	0.003	0.148
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	2	13.421	0.001	0.158
There were better values in the past	2	38.694	4E(-9)	0.268
Life was more peaceful in the past	2	23.397	8.3E(-6)	0.208
Life was better in the past	2	26.158	2.1E(-6)	0.220
There was no unemployment in the past	2	17.436	1.6E(-4)	0.180

Table IV.29 *Conceptions about the past with regards to gender. Statistically significant results only (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), total N = 551 respondents*

Statement	Male		Female	
	N= 243 in each case	%	N= 308 in each case	%
People worked harder in the past	167	69.3	162	52.9
DF= 2, χ^2=17.008, p= 2E(-4),V= 0.176				

Table IV.30 *Conceptions about the past with regards to occupation. Statistically significant results only (Source: Q 11 of the questionnaire, Appendix II), total N= 551 respondents, missing= 4*

Statement	Retired		Student		Unemployed	
	N= 51 in each case	%	N= 97 in each case	%	N= 22 in each case	%
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	32	65.3	37	38.1	13	59.1
People worked harder in the past	42	82.4	49	50.5	12	54.5
There were better values in the past	30	68.8	34	35.4	9	40.9
Life was more peaceful in the past	16	32.7	14	14.6	5	22.7
There was no unemployment in the past	4	8.2	7	7.2	6	27.3

Statement	Working Part-time		Working Full-time	
	N= 53 in each case	%	N= 324 in each case	%
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	17	32.1	144	45.0
People worked harder in the past	39	73.6	184	57.5
There were better values in the past	20	37.7	94	29.7
Life was more peaceful in the past	12	22.6	40	12.5
There was no unemployment in the past	5	9.4	24	7.5

Table IV.30a *Chi-squared statistics for conceptions about the past with regards to occupation (see Table above, for DF= 10 and $p \leq 0.05$, $\chi^2 \geq 18.307$)*

Occupation vs.	DF	χ^2	p	V
Nostalgia and romanticism about the past	10	21.926	0.015	0.142
People worked harder in the past	10	21.384	0.019	0.140
There were better values in the past	10	22.938	0.011	0.140
Life was more peaceful in the past	10	23.839	0.008	0.148
There was no unemployment in the past	10	21.320	0.019	0.140

Appendix V

Curator Survey - Additional Tables

Table V.1 *Specialists' nationality, N= 109 individuals*

Nationality	Frequency	Percent %
UK	67	61.5
Greece	23	21.1
Finland	3	2.8
France	3	2.8
The Netherlands	3	2.8
Germany	2	1.8
Luxembourg	2	1.8
Austria	1	0.9
Belgium	1	0.9
Canada	1	0.9
Denmark	1	0.9
New Zealand	1	0.9
USA	1	0.9
Total	109	100.0

Table V.2 *Cross-tabulations between material culture statements, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

Statement	χ^2	p	V
embroidery vs. lace	72.475	1.7E(-17)	0.819
embroidery vs. country furniture	46.924	7.4E(-12)	0.659
traditional cooking utensils vs. agricultural tools	33.524	7E(-9)	0.557
lace vs. traditional cooking utensils	29.878	4.6E(-8)	0.526
Photographs vs. country furniture	26.373	2.8E(-7)	0.494
embroidery vs. photographs	22.067	2.6E(-6)	0.452
lace vs. country furniture	21.844	3E(-6)	0.450
lace vs. agricultural tools	21.231	4.1E(-6)	0.443
lace vs. photographs	15.981	6.4E(-5)	0.385

Table V.2a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where assumptions for chi-squared tests were broken, (N= 109 respondents*

Statement	p	V
agricultural tools vs. country furniture	7.4E(-12)	0.751
traditional cooking utensils vs. country furniture	1.9E(-9)	0.659
embroidery vs. traditional cooking utensils	2.3E(-8)	0.586
clothing vs. photographs	5.2E(-7)	0.527
traditional cooking utensils vs. photographs	8.8E(-7)	0.514
embroidery vs. agricultural tools	2.3E(-6)	0.499
clothing vs. agricultural tools	6.4E(-7)	0.476
clothing vs. embroidery	1.4E(-5)	0.467
clothing vs. traditional cooking utensils	1E(-4)	0.457
agricultural tools vs. photographs	4.6E(-5)	0.427
clothing vs. lace	5.7E(-5)	0.422
clothing vs. country furniture	3E(-4)	0.408

Table V.3 *Responses to the question "What do you think a typical museum folk life exhibition would have in it?" with reference to responses to tangible and intangible heritage (N= 109 respondents in each case)*

Reply	N	%
Objects	66	60.6
Clothing and other body accessories	26	23.9
Way of life (daily life, manners, customs, occupation, etc.	56	51.4
Furniture	18	16.5
Tradition	22	20.2
Traditional entertainment	14	12.8
Rituals	5	4.6
Oral communicative forms	15	13.8
Art and ephemera	20	18.3
Response related to display method	17	15.6
Life in a specific region	18	16.5
Rural	23	21.1
Ordinary people	9	8.3
Past life	13	11.9
Comparison between past and present	4	3.7
Way of life of a community group (family, nation)	13	11.9
Miscellaneous things	55	50.5
I don't know	1	0.9

Table V.4 *Cross-tabulations between intangible heritage statements, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

statement	χ^2	p	V
birthday celebrations vs. wedding receptions	66.557	3.4E(-16)	0.785
wedding receptions vs. religion	35.590	2.4E(-9)	0.574
festive celebrations vs. markets	33.834	6E(-9)	0.560
birthday celebrations vs. special dishes	31.940	1.6E(-8)	0.544
wedding receptions vs. special dishes	30.737	3E(-8)	0.533
birthday celebrations vs. city street culture	30.362	3.6E(-8)	0.530
markets vs. city street culture	30.276	3.7E(-8)	0.529
movies vs. city street culture	29.477	5.6E(-8)	0.522
birthday celebrations vs. religion	27.425	1.6E(-7)	0.504
birthday celebrations vs. markets	26.974	2E(-7)	0.500
special dishes vs. markets	26.009	3.4E(-7)	0.491
religion vs. markets	26.009	3.4E(-7)	0.491
wedding receptions vs. city street culture	25.461	4.5E(-7)	0.486
religion vs. special dishes	25.393	4.7E(-7)	0.485
festive celebrations vs. special dishes	24.157	8.9E(-7)	0.473
wedding receptions vs. festive celebrations	23.155	1.5E(-6)	0.463
birthday celebrations vs. festive celebrations	23.155	1.5E(-6)	0.463
special dishes vs. city street culture	23.142	1.5E(-6)	0.463
wedding receptions vs. markets	21.917	2.8E(-6)	0.450
legends and fairy tales vs. special dishes	17.196	3.4E(-5)	0.399
festive celebrations vs. city street culture	15.258	9.4E(-5)	0.376
movies vs. special dishes	14.254	1.6E(-4)	0.363
movies vs. markets	13.856	2E(-4)	0.358
legends and fairy tales vs. city street culture	10.421	0.001	0.311
religion vs. city street culture	9.826	0.002	0.302
legends and fairy tales vs. birthday celebrations	9.350	0.002	0.294
legends and fairy tales vs. festive celebrations	8.650	0.003	0.283
music and songs vs. wedding receptions	8.104	0.005	0.272
music and songs vs. birthday celebrations	7.872	0.005	0.270
music and songs vs. city street culture	7.362	0.007	0.261
music and songs vs. markets	6.709	0.010	0.249
legends and fairy tales vs. markets	5.550	0.018	0.227
legends and fairy tales vs. wedding receptions	5.250	0.022	0.220
legends and fairy tales vs. religion	5.184	0.023	0.219
manners and habits vs. music and songs	4.969	0.026	0.214

Table V.4a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

statement	**p**	**V**
traditions and customs of a village community vs. old traditions	0.010	0.341
traditions and customs of a village community vs. music and songs	0.018	0.275
legends and fairy tales vs. music and songs	0.001	0.354
music and songs vs. special dishes	3.9E(-5)	0.423
dialects vs. music and songs	0.011	0.269
music and songs vs. movies	0.004	0.267
music and songs vs. festive celebrations	0.019	0.250

Table V.5 *Cross-tabulations between intangible and tangible heritage statements, N= 109 respondents, DF= 1*

	clothing			embroidery			lace			cooking utensils			photographs			agricultural tools			country furniture		
	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	P	V	χ^2	p	V	χ^2	p	V
Manners/ habits	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			7.47	0.006	0.26	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05		
Traditions/ customs	-	0.049	0.23	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			-	0.011	0.29	No significance at p≤0.05			-	0.001	0.39	-	0.003	0.33
Dialects	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05		
Old traditions	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			-	0.047	0.22	No significance at p≤0.05			-	0.049	0.23	No significance at p≤0.05		
Legends/ fairy tales	No significance at p≤0.05			13.74	2E(-4)	0.36	12.41	4E(-4)	0.34	-	0.021	0.23	No significance at p≤0.05			No significance at p≤0.05			5.72	0.017	0.23
Special dishes	-	0.001	0.33	38.85	1.1E(-9)	0.57	39.93	2.6E(-10)	0.61	33	9.2E(-9)	0.55	21.29	4E(-6)	0.44	14.30	1.5E(-4)	0.36	24.16	8.9E(-7)	0.47
Movies	-	0.015	0.23	12.34	4.4E(-4)	0.34	15.84	6.9E(-5)	0.38	5.14	0.023	0.22	13.18	2.8E(-4)	0.35	4.53	0.03	0.20	7.08	0.008	0.26
Music/ songs	-	6.3E(-6)	0.57	-	5.6E(-5)	0.43	-	0.002	0.32	-	0.040	0.22		8.2E(-5)	0.42	16.18	5.7E(-5)	0.39	-	4E(-4)	0.39
City street culture	-	0.005	0.27	19.43	1E(-5)	0.42	24.56	7.2E(-7)	0.48	5.94	0.015	0.23	5.52	0.02	0.23	5.13	0.023	0.22	No significance at p≤0.05		
Markets	-	1E(-4)	0.36	22.94	1.7E(-6)	0.46	22.16	2.5E(-6)	0.45	18.10	2.1E(-5)	0.41	13.47	2.4E(-4)	0.35	16.41	5.1E(-5)	0.39	14.86	1.1E(-4)	0.37
Birthday celebrations	-	0.007	0.27	21.37	3.8E(-6)	0.44	19.96	7.9E(-6)	0.43	18.54	1.7E(-5)	0.41	9.35	0.002	0.29	9.45	0.002	0.30	11.23	0.001	0.32
Wedding receptions	-	6.4E(-5)	0.38	14.75	1.2E(-4)	0.37	22.11	2.6E(-6)	0.45	16.23	5.6E(-5)	0.39	10.09	0.001	0.31	14.47	1.4E(-4)	0.37	7.26	0.007	0.26
Festive celebrations	-	3E(-4)	0.41	17.57	2.7E(-5)	0.40	21.84	3E(-6)	0.45	-	1.6E(-5)	0.47	12.18	4.8E(-4)	0.34	-	0.001	0.366	-	1.9E(-5)	0.409
Religion	-	1E(-4)	0.40	11.54	0.001	0.33	20.28	6.7E(-6)	0.43	21.46	3.6E(-6)	0.45	30.79	2.9E(-8)	0.53	6.99	0.008	0.25	19.29	1.1E(-5)	0.42

Table V.6 *Responses to the open-ended question "Could you try to make a definition of the term folk life?", N= 109 respondents, missing= 9 (8.3%)*

Word/phrase mentioned	N(responses)	%
Way of life	70	64.2
Past	39	35.8
Any kind of group (community, nation, people)	29	26.6
Tradition/s	28	25.7
Material culture – any kind	24	22.0
Manners and customs	23	21.1
Academic discipline	20	18.3
Rural	18	16.5
Ordinary person	15	13.8
Present	15	13.8
Regional	14	12.8
Culture	11	10.1
History	8	7.3
Popular culture	6	5.5
Feelings and thoughts	5	4.6
Any kind of entertainment	3	2.8
Any rituals	2	1.8
Art	2	1.8
Mentioned miscellaneous things	41	37.6

Table V.7 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics for "cultural identity", N= 109 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

cultural identity vs.	χ^2	p	V
religion	25.240	5.1E(-7)	0.483
special dishes	25.240	5.1E(-7)	0.483
popular culture	20.455	6.1E(-6)	0.435
everyday life in the present	18.227	1.9E(-5)	0.411
city street culture	18.227	1.9E(-5)	0.411
birthday celebrations	16.022	6.2E(-5)	0.385
photographs	15.101	1E(-4)	0.374
festive celebrations	14.365	1.5E(-4)	0.365
markets	13.674	2.1E(-4)	0.356
rural culture of today	13.091	2.9E(-4)	0.348
wedding receptions	13.091	2.9E(-4)	0.348
pre-industrial times	9.672	0.002	0.299
embroidery	9.257	0.002	0.293
movies	8.565	0.003	0.282
lace	8.526	0.004	0.281
legends and fairy tales	8.313	0.004	0.277
nationalism	7.446	0.006	0.263
local identity	6.261	0.012	0.241
manners and habits of a nation	5.114	0.024	0.218

Table V.7a *Fisher's Exact Probability Test for the cases where chi-squared assumptions are broken*

cultural identity vs.	**p**	**V**
clothing	0.002	0.332
music and songs	0.003	0.312
traditional cooking utensils	0.014	0.258

Table V.8 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics for "popular culture", N= 109 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

popular culture vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
city street culture	70.890	3.8E(-17)	0.810
everyday life in the present	49.367	2.1E(-12)	0.676
rural culture of today	45.510	1.5E(-11)	0.649
markets	26.974	2.1E(-7)	0.500
birthday celebrations	26.707	2.4E(-7)	0.497
wedding receptions	22.594	2E(-6)	0.457
nationalism	22.207	2.5E(-6)	0.453
cultural identity	20.455	6.1E(-6)	0.435
movies	20.328	6.5E(-6)	0.434
special dishes	17.257	3.3E(-65)	0.400
embroidery	14.116	1.7E(-4)	0.362
lace	11.881	0.001	0.332
religion	10.962	0.001	0.319
festive celebrations	10.523	0.001	0.312
legends and fairy tales	9.068	0.003	0.290
pre-industrial times	8.347	0.004	0.278
clothing		0.005	0.265
music and songs	6.686	0.010	0.249
photographs	6.602	0.010	0.247
traditional cooking utensils	5.185	0.023	0.219

Table V.9 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics for "nationalism", N= 551 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

nationalism vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
city street culture	28.197	1.1E(-7)	0.511
movies	23.559	1.2E(-6)	0.467
popular culture	22.207	2.5E(-6)	0.453
a past studied by academics	19.881	8.2E(-6)	0.429
birthday celebrations	16.490	4.9E(-5)	0.391
wedding receptions	16.259	5.5E(-5)	0.388
rural culture of today	12.924	3.2E(-4)	0.346
markets	12.185	4.8E(-4)	0.336
lace	10.505	0.001	0.312
religion	8.886	0.003	0.287
special dishes	8.886	0.003	0.287
everyday life in the present	8.671	0.003	0.283
cultural identity	7.446	0.006	0.263
legends and fairy tales	6.006	0.014	0.236
embroidery	5.486	0.019	0.225
local identity	4.339	0.037	0.200
festive celebrations	4.330	0.037	0.200
pre-industrial times	4.226	0.040	0.198

Table V.10 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics for "something that belongs to museums", N= 109 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

something that belongs to museums vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
a past studied by academics	10.578	0.001	0.313
pre-industrial times	6.314	0.012	0.242
music and songs		0.035	0.208
wedding receptions	4.426	0.035	0.202
birthday celebrations	4.143	0.042	0.196
special dishes	4.113	0.043	0.195
religion	4.113	0.043	0.195

Table V.11 *Chi-squared 2 x 2 statistics for "a past studied by academics", N= 109 respondents, DF= 1. Statistically significant results only*

a past studied by academics vs.	χ^2	**p**	**V**
nationalism	19.881	8.2E(-6)	0.429
birthday celebrations	11.385	0.001	0.325
something that belongs to museums	10.578	0.001	0.313
city street culture	8.547	0.003	0.281
lace	8.302	0.004	0.277
wedding receptions	8.237	0.004	0.276
movies	8.176	0.004	0.275
markets	7.755	0.005	0.268
special dishes	6.957	0.008	0.254
dialects	6.814	0.009	0.251
pre-industrial times	4.751	0.039	0.210
festive celebrations	4.686	0.030	0.208

Table V.12 *Specialists' attitudes towards social history with regards to nationality, N= number responses*

			Nationality			
Social history is about			**Greece**	**UK**	**Rest of Europe**	**Other**
	Agree	Count	14	53	13	3
		% within	63.6%	80.3%	86.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	13.2%	50.0%	12.3%	2.8%
the rights of ordinary people.	**Neutral**	Count	6	12	1	0
		% within	27.3%	18.2%	6.7%	0.0%
		% of Total	5.7%	11.3%	0.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	1	1	0
		% within	9.1%	1.5%	6.7%	0.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	66	15	3
	Agree	Count	5	5	2	0
		% within	23.8%	7.6%	13.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.8%	4.8%	1.9%	0.0%
anything except political history	**Neutral**	Count	3	12	3	1
		% within	14.3%	18.2%	20.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	2.9%	11.4%	2.9%	1.0%
	Disagree	Count	13	49	10	2
		% within	61.9%	74.2%	66.7%	66.7%
		% of Total	12.4%	46.7%	9.5%	1.9%
Total		Count	21	66	15	3

Table V.12 *Specialists' attitudes towards social history with regards to nationality (continued)*

Social history is about			Greece	UK	Rest of Europe	Other
	Agree	Count	9	39	5	3
		% within	39.1%	61.9%	31.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	8.6%	37.1%	4.8%	2.9%
oral history that	**Neutral**	Count	2	11	3	0
is not written		% within	8.7%	17.5%	18.8%	0.0%
down		% of Total	1.9%	10.5%	2.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	12	13	8	0
		% within	52.2%	20.6%	50.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	11.4%	12.4%	7.6%	0.0%
Total		Count	23	63	16	3
	Agree	Count	12	38	9	3
		% within	54.5%	58.5%	56.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	11.3%	35.8%	8.5%	2.8%
written history	**Neutral**	Count	4	15	2	0
of the society		% within	18.2%	23.1%	12.5%	0.0%
		% of Total	3.8%	14.2%	1.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	6	12	5	0
		% within	27.3%	18.5%	31.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	5.7%	11.3%	4.7%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	65	16	3
	Agree	Count	5	21	6	2
		% within	25.0%	32.3%	40.0%	66.7%
		% of Total	4.9%	20.4%	5.8%	1.9%
history that the	**Neutral**	Count	7	24	3	0
states do not		% within	35.0%	36.9%	20.0%	0.0%
encourage to		% of Total	6.8%	23.3%	2.9%	0.0%
teach	**Disagree**	Count	8	20	6	1
		% within	40.0%	30.8%	40.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	7.8%	19.4%	5.8%	1.0%
Total		Count	20	65	15	3
a discipline for	**Agree**	Count	9	23	15	3
the university		% within	40.9%	35.4%	100.0%	100.0%
people to study		% of Total	8.6%	21.9%	14.3%	2.9%
	Neutral	Count	8	18	0	0
		% within	36.4%	27.7%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	7.6%	17.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	5	24	0	0
		% within	22.7%	36.9%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.8%	22.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	35	15	3
	Agree	Count	10	46	8	1
		% within	45.5%	70.8%	53.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	9.5%	43.8%	7.6%	1.0%
ordinary man	**Neutral**	Count	4	11	1	0
and woman		% within	18.2%	16.9%	6.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	3.8%	10.5%	1.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	8	8	6	2
		% within	36.4%	12.3%	40.0%	66.7%
		% of Total	7.6%	7.6%	5.7%	1.9%
Total		Count	22	65	15	3
	Agree	Count	20	56	16	3
		% within	90.9%	84.8%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	18.7%	52.3%	15.0%	2.8%
all types and	**Neutral**	Count	1	10	0	0
classes of		% within	4.5%	15.2%	0.0%	0.0%
people		% of Total	0.9%	9.3%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	0	0	0
		% within	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	66	16	3

Table V.12 *Specialists' attitudes towards social history with regards to nationality (continued)*

Social history is about			Greece	UK	Rest of Europe	Other
	Agree	Count	11	18	8	1
		% within	50.0%	27.7%	53.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	10.5%	17.1%	7.6%	1.0%
democracy	**Neutral**	Count	4	30	5	1
		% within	18.2%	46.2%	33.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	3.8%	28.6%	4.8%	1.0%
	Disagree	Count	7	17	2	1
		% within	31.8%	26.2%	13.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	6.7%	16.2%	1.9%	1.0%
Total		Count	22	65	15	3
the study of the	**Agree**	Count	21	42	14	2
structures of the		% within	95.5%	63.6%	87.5%	66.7%
society		% of Total	19.6%	39.3%	13.1%	1.9%
	Neutral	Count	0	19	1	0
		% within	0.0%	28.8%	6.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	0.0%	17.8%	0.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	5	1	1
		% within	4.5%	7.6%	6.3%	33.3%
		% of Total	0.9%	4.7%	0.9%	0.9%
Total		Count	22	66	16	3
	Agree	Count	13	39	12	1
		% within	59.1	59.1	85.7	33.3
		% of Total	12.4	37.1	11.4	1.0
mass	**Neutral**	Count	6	22	2	0
production		% within	27.3	33.3	14.3	0.0
		% of Total	5.7	21.0	1.9	0.0
	Disagree	Count	3	5	0	2
		% within	13.6	7.6	0.0	66.7
		% of Total	2.9	4.8	0.0	1.9
Total		Count	22	66	14	3
	Agree	Count	14	53	13	3
		% within	63.6%	80.3%	86.7%	100.0 %
the rights of		% of Total	13.2%	50.0%	12.3%	2.8%
ordinary people.	**Neutral**	Count	6	12	1	0
		% within	27.3%	18.2%	6.7%	0.0%
		% of Total	5.7%	11.3%	0.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	1	1	0
		% within	9.1%	1.5%	6.7%	0.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	66	15	3
	Agree	Count	16	50	15	2
		% within	72.7%	75.8%	93.8%	66.7%
		% of Total	15.0%	46.7%	14.0%	1.9%
industrial times	**Neutral**	Count	4	14	1	0
		% within	18.2%	21.2%	6.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	3.7%	13.1%	0.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	2	0	1
		% within	9.1%	3.0%	0.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	1.9%	1.9%	0.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	22	66	16	3

Table V.12 *Specialists' attitudes towards social history with regards to nationality (continued)*

Social history is about			Greece	UK	Rest of Europe	Other
	Agree	Count	13	57	14	3
		% within	59.1%	86.4%	87.5%	100.0
		% of Total	12.1%	53.3%	13.1%	2.8
domestic things	**Neutral**	Count	4	8	1	0
		% within	18.2%	12.1%	6.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	3.7%	7.5%	0.9%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	5	1	1	0
		% within	22.7%	1.5%	6.3%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.7%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%
Total		Count	22	66	16	3
	Agree	Count	21	61	15	3
		% within	91.3%	92.4%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	19.6%	57.0%	14.0%	2.8%
work	**Neutral**	Count	1	5	0	0
		% within	4.3%	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	0.9%	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	0	0	0%
		% within	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	23%	66.0	15.0%	3.0%
Total		Count	23	66	15	3
	Agree	Count	16	60	15	3
		% within	69.6%	90.9%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	15.0%	56.1%	14.0%	2.8%
travel	**Neutral**	Count	5	6	0	0
		% within	21.7%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.7%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	0	0	0
		% within	8.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	23	66	15	3
	Agree	Count	17	62	15	3
		% within	73.9%	93.9%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	15.9%	57.9%	14.0%	2.8%
transport	**Neutral**	Count	5	4	0	0
		% within	21.7%	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.7%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	0	0	0
		% within	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	23	66	15	3
	Agree	Count	17	61	15	2
		% within	73.9%	93.8%	100.0%	66.7%
		% of Total	16.0%	57.5%	14.2%	1.9%
health	**Neutral**	Count	5	4	0	0
		% within	21.7%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%
		% of Total	4.7%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%
		% of Total	.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	23	65	15	3

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